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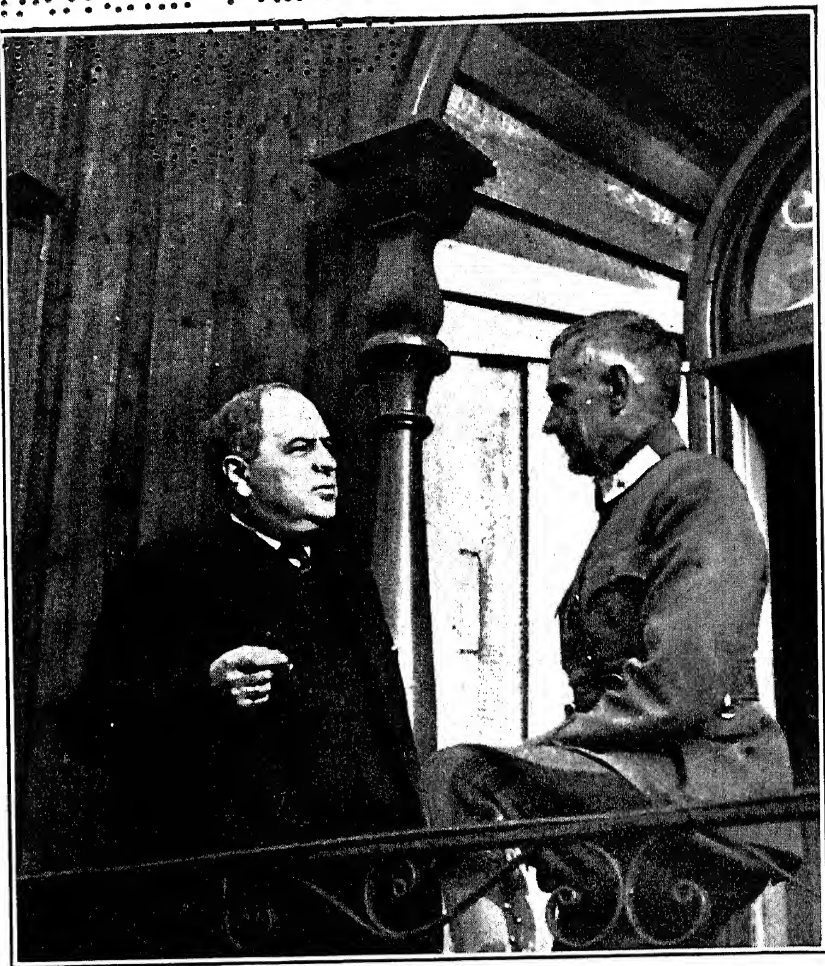
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*C. J. Hambro and Otto Ruge, Commander-in-Chief of the Norwegian Army.*

# I SAW IT HAPPEN IN NORWAY

BY

C. J. HAMBRO

PRESIDENT OF THE NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT



ILLUSTRATED

D. APPLETON-CENTURY COMPANY

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I SAW IT HAPPEN IN NORWAY



## CHAPTER I

### YOU'LL SEE IT HAPPEN

THIS is not a literary essay, neither is it a continuous historical treatise. It is merely a personal narrative of political experiences, a brief sketch of certain events in a small country as they appeared to one man who happened to be in a position to follow developments from day to day.

What happened in his country is merely an incident in the armageddon of the moment. On the big political chessboard Norway is only a pawn, and for the final outcome of the war the fate of Norway may seem at most a secondary issue.

But to all those who understand the scope and the importance to all mankind of the struggle that is now going on, what happened in Norway is a rare object-lesson and ought to be studied in every country that is still neutral and independent, for every country is in danger, and every unsuspecting nation is living under a mortal menace.

Norway was no neighboring country of Ger-

many's. Norway had always been on the most excellent terms with Germany. There was no German minority in Norway; Norway had not gained anything by the Versailles Treaty; there was no problem obscuring what is called in diplomatic language the traditional friendship between the two nations.

Officially and privately the Germans had constantly proclaimed their sympathy, nay, their love for Norway. Officially and privately they tried in every way to promote liaison and entente. They arranged Nordic meetings in Germany, inviting great numbers of Norwegians; they sent lecturers, actors, singers, men of science to Norway. And they were received with hospitality and listened to with open minds.

In the case of Poland, and, later, in the case of Holland and Belgium, notes had been exchanged, ultimata had been presented. In the case of Norway the Germans under the mask of friendship tried to extinguish the nation in one dark night, silently, murderously, without any declaration of war, without any warning given.

What stupefied the Norwegians more than the act of aggression itself was the national realization that a great power for years professing its friendship, suddenly appeared a deadly enemy; and the individual realization that men and

women with whom one had had intimate business or professional relations, who had been cordially welcomed in one's home, were spies and agents of destruction. More than by the violation of treaties and every international obligation, the people of Norway were dazed by the realization that for years their German friends had been elaborating the most detailed plans for the invasion and subsequent enslaving of their country. That tourists and starving children welcomed and nourished in Norway, had been agents on a secret mission, had been learning Norwegian, had been studying Norwegian institutions intent on one thing only: to use every confidence given them to pave the way for the conquest of Norway and for German reign in the country.

Every man in the diplomatic and consular service was found to be an enemy agent. Under cover of international privileges granted them, in violation of every established code of international honor, they had made the German legation in Oslo, every consulate all over the country, every purchasing agency they had established, a center of conspiracy, a center of espionage, a center of treason and of contemplated crime against Norway.

And such is the paradox of Nazi mentality that many of these men, no doubt, were honest

in their profession of sympathy, but their sympathy was a very possessive one, and their supreme law the law of remorseless national egoism and an official conviction that it is the best thing for every nation to be ruled by them.

That is why the things that happened in Norway can happen anywhere as long as people do not realize that the most dangerous Fifth Column is to be found behind the bars of diplomatic immunity; every German embassy is a potential center of Fifth Column mobilization; every German consulate is an armory, a danger spot, the privileged stable of a Trojan horse.

Such are the inevitable consequences of the national socialistic philosophy. And it is well to bear in mind that it is not the crook who is the real danger, it is the kindly, industrious, trustworthy business man, professor, mechanic, gone nationally insane because his instincts of right and wrong have been methodically perverted.

In Norway there was no widespread treachery. There was one lunatic who had no official position and had been permitted to run loose with a few irresponsible and nondescript young friends. But there were numbers of German attachés, secretaries, purchasing agents, commercial travelers and shipping men. And every single one of

them proved more dangerous than a load of parachutists.

In every country such men are active. And every country where there is a German embassy or German consulates is in permanent danger until civilized countries agree to establish certain international rules of ethics and declare themselves unwilling to entertain official relations with any country deliberately breaking such rules.

For what we are witnessing to-day is not a fight for a "place in the sun" or political supremacy in Europe and on the seven seas. It is not a conflict between two different ideologies or different conceptions of government. It is something far more fundamental. It is a war between two different systems of ethics, between two different codes of honor, between two opposite conceptions of conscience, of decency, of honest relations between man and man and nation and nation.

The whole structure of Christian civilization is threatened by waves of moral leprosy, far more destructive than the waves of bombers attacking London. And those attacks are in themselves only a logical outbreak of the terrible illness eating up the moral conscience of whole nations. You can see the contagion spreading from coun-

try to country, from class to class, from one section of society to another. You can witness the conceptions of right and wrong being tainted, being putrified; you can see the horrible leer of sick men admiring the physical power which can kill off the sane and sound.

Isolation offers no protection. Neither does any known conception of neutrality. The germs of national megalomania, of hysterical führer-phobia are spread by every newspaper, over the broadcasting system of every country, wherever a newsreel is put on the screen.

And there is only one way of combating it: to face facts, to admit openly that this danger exists, to acknowledge that the moral menace of this danger is even stronger than the political or the physical one; to confess, irrespective of national preference or prejudice, that until this danger is under control every other international issue is of subsidiary and secondary importance.

There can be no compromise between Right and Wrong, between Good and Evil. The struggle is not fought in the abstract, in a moral no-man's-land. It is going on in every country, it is going on in the minds of ordinary men and women; and every public speaker, every commentator and leader writer is taking sides every day, is wittingly or unwittingly reinforcing the

power of Evil or taking his place on the front of Good. And the great number of men and women refusing to see the danger, form the tremendous commissariat of the army of Fifth Columnists.

What happened to Norway is not very complicated. The facts are simple as the people of Norway were simple and unsuspicious. The Germans called them their friends; and they meant it, as far as that word can mean anything in their terminology.

Woe to the nations which are not called friends and are not called purely Teutonic, if they do not beware!

## CHAPTER II

### A SURPRISE PARTY

#### I. AT OSLO

APRIL 8th had been a day of anxiety and strenuous work. The British announcement that mines had been laid in Norwegian territorial waters, the possible consequences of this violation of neutrality, and the attitude to be taken by the Norwegian Government had been discussed at length in the Foreign Relations Committee, of which I was chairman, and in the afternoon the Storting had met in secret session to discuss the same problems. During this meeting it was reported that a German transport ship, *Rio de Janeiro*, had been torpedoed by a British submarine off the south coast of Norway and that a number of Germans had been saved by Norwegian sailors and fishermen. An astounding story was told about their being bound for Bergen to help the Norwegians to defend their country against the British and French. The ominous portent of this story did not seem to strike the mem-

bers of the Storting. It was, apparently, merely another bit of amazing and rather amusing evidence of the willingness of German people to believe anything they were told by the powers that be.

It had been reported that a number of German vessels had been steaming north we were told, probably on a big mine-sweeping expedition. But we were told that the German ships had not gone north of Skagen. The pessimists felt worried over the possible fate of Denmark, but nobody really believed that there was any imminent danger for Norway. In spite of this, people were grave; the shadow thrown by the history of Finland in the last month had left its mark on everybody. Nobody was happy and all were anxious for the future.

The meeting was over at nine o'clock, and I went home to have a late meal and go to bed early—shortly after eleven.

At one o'clock I was called by my wife, who told me there was an air-raid alarm. We had had some experiences of air-raid alarms and black-outs as part of our preparedness training, and at first I did not take the alarm very seriously; but the signals continued incessantly, and at half-past one I began telephoning *Morgenbladet*, my old paper, where I started my journalistic career, of

which I was editor-in-chief from 1913 to 1920 and where I am still Chairman of the Board of Trustees. I also tried to get in touch with the Norsk Telegrambureau, the Associated Press of Norway, where for many years I have been President of the Board of Directors. It was impossible to get any answer, and then I knew that something was wrong indeed. At last, about two o'clock, I got an answer from the Telegrambureau; the whole staff had been in the air-raid shelters, but decided that it was their duty to serve the public and the newspapers, bombs or no bombs. I was told that at midnight foreign men-of-war had passed Faerder, steaming up the Oslofjord; at 12:45 the coast batteries at Bolaerne and Rauer had opened fire, but had not succeeded in stopping the ships.

I then got in touch with the Prime Minister and later with the War Office. Every fifteen minutes I was informed of developments. At 2:15 it was reported that five great German warships had passed the small coast batteries south of Bergen. At 3:30 I was told that German units had passed Agdenes on their way to Trondheim, and that the German squadron in the Oslofjord was fighting at Oscarsborg.

There could be no doubt of what was happening. Without warning of any kind, without any

ultimatum, the Germans had started a surprise attack on every strategically important point in Norway. Our army was not mobilized. We were absolutely unprepared to meet the attack. And if the King and the Royal Family, the Government and the Parliament should be taken by surprise, Norway would not only be at the mercy of the Germans but would cease to be a sovereign state with an independent government. The only thing to do was to move out of Oslo.

I got the Clerk of the Storting on the telephone, told him that the Germans would be in Oslo before the day was old, asked him to call his staff, pack the archives, the necessary protocols, official seals and so on, order lorries for transport, and instruct the stenographers to be ready.

Hamar, a hundred miles inland from Oslo, seemed the only reasonable place for the Storting to meet. It is a great center of communication, with roads and railroads leading north, east, and west; and, if the worst should happen, from Hamar several roads lead into Sweden.

My wife packed a small suitcase for me and one for herself and arranged for the servants to leave Oslo for their respective homes—if they preferred not to stay in the house with the Germans in Oslo.

I had just started to write a book of remi-

niscences but had no time to take with me any manuscripts—so far of value only to myself; however, I made necessary arrangements to dispose of certain intimate private papers and asked some of our friends to look after the house. Then we got a taxi and started for the parliament building. I found everything in good order, the whole clerical staff at work, protocols packed, stenographers warned, and certain documents ready to be stowed away. After dictating a couple of urgent letters I rejoined my wife, who was waiting in the taxi, and went up to the Foreign Office, where the members of the Cabinet were in conference and had asked me to join them.

I was briefly informed of what had happened.

Shortly before my arrival the German Minister had been to see Dr. Koht, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This was between 4:30 and 5:00 in the morning—five hours after the opening of hostilities. He handed Dr. Koht a memorandum with a long list of German demands amounting to a complete surrender of Norway (see Appendix, page 203). The German proposal, if proposal it can be called, was rejected by the government, and Dr. Bräuer, the German Minister, had just left when I arrived.

I proposed that the Royal Family, the Cabinet, and the Storting should move to Hamar.



*Refugees evacuating a small town.*

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The King, who was in constant telephone communication with the Prime Minister, fully agreed. In order to prevent any possible later criticism of the constitutional correctness of this decision—the President of the Storting alone being hardly empowered to move the seat of Parliament—I asked for an Order in Council to be issued immediately in accordance with Article 68 of the Constitution, which reads:

119  
The Storting shall ordinarily meet on the first week-day after the 10th of January every year in the capital of the country unless the King in virtue of extraordinary circumstances, such as invasion by an enemy or epidemics, should resolve to summon the Storting to another town.

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Hamar being thus constitutionally authorized, we discussed how to proceed there, and the Minister of Communications immediately telephoned the railway authorities ordering a special train to be ready at the Eastern Central Station at seven o'clock. I then ordered the staff of the Storting to instruct every individual member to be present at the railroad station at seven sharp. Such members as could not be reached by telephone should be called by messengers immediately. Mr. Magnus Nilssen, the Vice-President, was on his way from Stockholm, where he had

attended a sitting of the Central Board of Directors of the Nobel Institutions. His train was due at Oslo at nine o'clock in the morning. I sent a message to the station master at Kongsvinger, near the Swedish border, to get in touch with Mr. Nilssen and send him on to Hamar. It was also decided that the General Staff of the Army and Navy should go to Hamar on the special train. But, unfortunately, we did not discuss the position of the Supreme Court of Justice.

My taxi had been waiting outside the Foreign Office and I set off at once for Hamar to make the necessary arrangements, asking the taxi driver to drive as quickly as possible.

It had previously been arranged that in case of evacuation my wife should go to her brother's place, some twenty-five miles south of Hamar. And when we came to his farm she stepped out and walked up the long drive with her suitcase. Then my taxi hurried along.

## II. AT HAMAR

When I arrived in Hamar nobody had any idea of what had happened. The regular broadcasting schedule did not open before eight o'clock in the morning, and I did not want to broadcast the name of the place to which the Government was going, for fear the Germans

would bomb the train. I walked at once to the home of the Chief of Police, who had some difficulty in understanding that this was serious. "Surely you have the date wrong, Mr. President," he said. "This is not the first of April, this is the ninth."

But he acted with promptitude and summoned at once the Fylkesmann (Lieutenant-Governor) of the province of Hamar, the Mayor of the city, and the Mayor of the neighboring district of Vang. I asked them to make a complete plan for the billeting of the Royal Family, the 150 members of the Storting, the members of the Cabinet, the staff officers, and the permanent under-secretaries of the various ministries, who were expected to accompany the Government. Then we inspected the hall where the Storting should meet. I wanted everything to appear as much like an ordinary meeting as possible. I had cards written out with the name of every constituency and had them placed in alphabetical order along the rows of seats. A breakfast was to be served at the railroad station on the arrival of the special train. I made arrangements for broadcasting, and then saw the colonel commanding the cavalry regiment whose headquarters were at Hamar but which was not mobilized. While we were discussing how to or-

ganize things the first German planes came over the town, but no bombs were dropped.

At a quarter-past ten Mr. Nygaardsvold arrived with his family, having motored up. A general mobilization had then been ordered. The Prime Minister was sadly shaken, not primarily because Norway was in distress, but because something fundamental in his conception of human honor and decency had broken down.

We had quite a talk while we were pacing up and down the platform waiting for the special train, which arrived later than expected. When it left Oslo heavy fighting was going on in the air, and when the train reached Lillestrømmen, the near-by Kjeller airdrome, training field of the Norwegian pilots, was being bombarded. The train had to stop for a while, and the Royal Family and other passengers stayed in the underground passages leading from one platform to another, while bombs were exploding in every direction. Fortunately, the German aviators had no idea of the importance of the train and were busy fighting the Norwegian Air Force. The passengers saw several German planes being brought down before the train proceeded.

I had a little chat with the Crown-Princess and her children at the station. They were all

perfectly calm and very courageous. The royal children had enjoyed the trip thoroughly and were thrilled by the fireworks.

The King and the Royal Family were taken to a manor house in the neighborhood. The members of the Storting had their breakfast and were directed to their respective lodgings. Vice-President Magnus Nilssen arrived by car from Kongsvinger, and the meeting of the Storting could be opened.

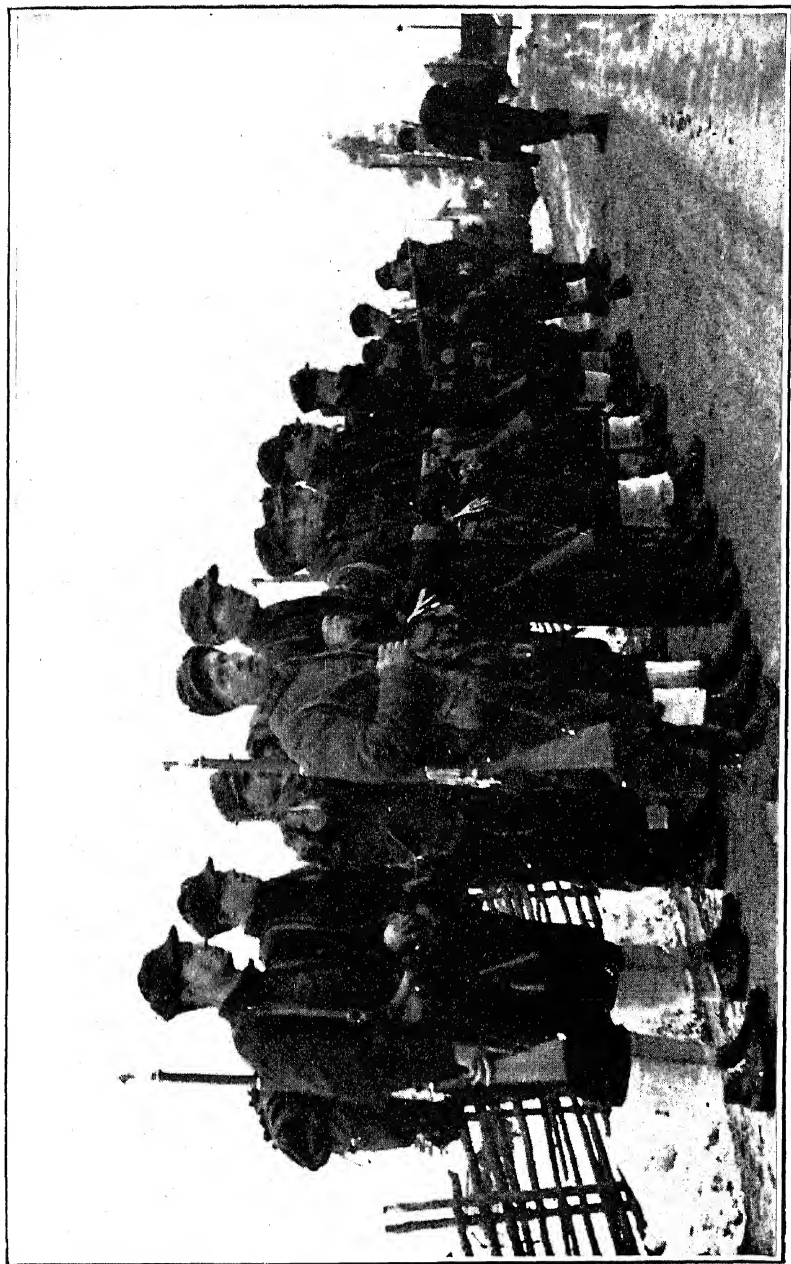
Very few members were absent. When the roll was called in the afternoon, out of a total of 150 members 146 were present, among them the three woman members.

I briefly stated to the Storting why we had to meet at Hamar and called upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs to make his statement. In his usual clear and matter-of-fact way Dr. Koht told what had happened. At about five o'clock in the morning the German Minister had presented Dr. Koht with a memorandum from the German Government. In this document it was stated that Great Britain and France, during this war against Germany, had constantly been waging war even against the neutral powers while Germany had incessantly done its best to protect the interests of the neutrals. At last the German

Government had got in its hands documents proving that England and France conjointly had decided to carry the war over to the territories of the northern states, by occupying Narvik and other points in Norway. The German Government was now, the document continued, in possession of irrefutable proofs that this occupation was going to be effected within the next few days, and had reason to believe that the Norwegian Government would not offer any resistance to such attempts. But, the memorandum went on, even if the Norwegian Government should be willing to oppose any such plans, it would not be strong enough to resist the Anglo-French action with any success. The German Government could not under any circumstances suffer the Allied Powers to turn Scandinavia into a theater of war against Germany or the people of Norway directly or indirectly to be abused by being forced into a war against Germany and so to secure the peace of the Scandinavian peninsula would take over the protection of Norway.\*

The Foreign Minister went on to explain that in addition to this memorandum the German Minister had handed him a list of decisions the

\* For full text of the German memorandum, see Appendix, page 203.



*Norwegian troops "somewhere in Norway."*



German Government wanted the Norwegian Government to take.

Among these items were the demands that the Norwegian Army and people abstain from resistance, that loyal collaboration be established between the Norwegian and the German armies, that military establishments and works be handed over intact to German troops, that accurate documentation concerning mines be turned over to the Germans, that all lines of communication be placed at the disposal of German troops, that all news and postal service to foreign countries be stopped, etc.\*

When Dr. Koht had hurriedly read the long German memorandum with the list of demands, he told the German Minister that it was impossible for him to give any answer, at any rate, without having consulted the Government.

The German Minister replied that there was no time to spare: the German action was already so far advanced that only if the German demands were complied with at once would it be possible to stop it. The German Navy had been ordered to occupy the various towns before nine o'clock, at the latest, ten o'clock in the morning.

Dr. Koht remarked that it would not take long to ascertain the attitude of the Govern-

\* For the complete list of German demands, see Appendix, page 205.

ment; all the members of the Cabinet had been in conference at the Foreign Office since the opening of the attack. The German Minister, Dr. Bräuer, then declared that he was willing to wait until the Government had made its decision, but emphasized that it must be taken at once.

When Dr. Koht had communicated the German documents to the Government it was at once agreed to answer that no independent state could accept such demands, and Dr. Bräuer was informed of this decision. Dr. Koht called the attention of the German Minister to a recent speech by the Führer in which he had declared that a nation humbly bowing to violation without offering any resistance does not deserve to live—and we, said the Foreign Minister, want to retain and defend our independence.

Dr. Koht did not make any comment on the German memorandum; indeed, it was hardly necessary. More than once the Storting had discussed with the Government the illegal sinking and bombing of Norwegian ships, the machine-gunning of Norwegian sailors, the violation of international obligations solemnly contracted by Germany, and other ways of "defending the rights of neutrals."

The decision was taken, and the German attack proceeded.

Dr. Koht finished by declaring that Norway was in a state of war with Germany.

When Dr. Koht sat down I asked whether the different political groups in the Storting desired to have party conferences and discuss their attitude or were prepared to proceed to a vote after a public discussion. One single member (of the Farmers' Party) rose and said he felt it would be the natural thing for the members to adjourn and discuss matters privately in party meetings. But the acting leader of his party stated that at this moment parties and groups did not exist. "We are only Norwegians and compatriots."

I declared that the Government had had no choice and had only done what it was in duty and honor bound to do, and proposed that the decision taken should be confirmed by the Storting without further debate. This proposal was unanimously adopted.

The meeting was then adjourned for a couple of hours. Some members of the Cabinet had not arrived in Hamar: the Minister of Finance who had worked to get the gold reserves of the National Bank of Norway out of Oslo, the Minister of Defense, who had been too busy to leave in the morning, and the Minister of Provisions who did everything possible to get stores of oil and

grain, sugar and other commodities out of Oslo before the Germans could seize them.

Dr. Koht was going to broadcast from Hamar. This was essential, the Germans having now seized the big broadcasting station at Oslo and placed it at the disposal of Mr. Quisling (of whom more later on). This leader of the small body of irresponsible Norwegian Nazis had returned from Berlin on April 7th and been busy preparing the German attack. He had declared himself "Chief of State" and appointed a "government" of unknown (not even "forgotten") men. In the name of the government he broadcasted that there should be no mobilization, no resistance and full "loyalty" to the Germans. The only way of counteracting this attempt to confuse the nation was to make use of the other broadcasting stations.

The most remarkable thing about this meeting of Parliament at Hamar, besides the decisions taken, was the fact that nobody proposed that Norway should apply to the Allies for help, and nobody asked whether the Allies were going to help. The whole action was spontaneous! Every member present reacted instinctively and strongly against the dastardly attack.

The stenographers were wonderful. An hour and a half after the meeting the verbatim re-

ports were mimeographed and distributed, while the members were waiting for the reopening of the meeting.

It seemed proper to have a full meeting of the Cabinet and also to give the Foreign Minister an opportunity of discussing the situation with the members of Corps Diplomatique. The old city of Hamar had suddenly become an international center. The whole personnel of the British Legation, the French Legation, and the Polish Legation had arrived by car. The American Minister, the Danish Minister, the Dutch Minister, the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, and a number of other diplomats were also in Hamar. Only the Italians were missing. And practically the whole staff of journalists of the Norsk Telegrambureau had followed the Government and established a Norwegian news center at Hamar. The Government has no economic interest in the Telegrambureau (N.T.B.)—only Norwegian newspapers can be shareholders in it—but the Bureau handles all the official news and coöperates intimately with the state-owned Norwegian radio system, and the whole staff have a keen sense of public duty and responsibility.

The Germans had by now landed considerable forces in ports on both sides of the Oslofjord.

There had been confused fighting around Oslo. In spite of a gallant resistance the Germans had occupied the Fornebo Airdrome, just west of Oslo, and Kjeller, east of Oslo, and motorized troops were advancing quickly along the railroad to Hamar. I asked the Fylkesmann to make the necessary arrangements for an eventual move of the Storting to Elverum, some twenty miles east of Hamar, an important railroad junction and road center. And orders were given to have a special train ready in case the need for it should arise.

This done, I went to my hotel to try and snatch an hour's sleep. But hardly had I got to my room and taken off my coat when I was called to the telephone and told that the King and the Crown-Prince were in the hotel to see me. His Majesty had come because Mr. Nygaardsvold had handed in the resignation of the Cabinet and had advised the King to consult me. Now, the news that Mr. Quisling had proclaimed himself Prime Minister and chief of a "national" government, was all over the country. I at once told the King that I thought it impossible to change the constitutional Government at the present moment. With the big broadcasting station at Oslo in the hands of Mr. Quisling and the Germans, with the impossi-

bility of reaching more than a small section of Norway from Hamar, and with the newspapers of Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim in the hands of the Germans, it would certainly make confusion complete if a new Government should make its first appearance now. The Nygaardsvold Cabinet had been in power for five years. It had the full confidence of the whole laboring class, represented the greatest party in the Storting, and had constantly had the support of a solid majority. Any change would give rise to doubts and questions which could not be answered effectively, and besides, the Nygaardsvold Government had to take the responsibility for what had been done and what had been left undone to prepare the nation for the present emergency. At a later stage it might be natural to let the Nygaardsvold Government go and appoint a Government of all parties.

His Majesty declared that his ideas were nearly identical with mine, but that since the Government was a one-party government, he desired to consult representatives of the various parties in Parliament.

We then arranged a conference in the building where the Storting resided for the moment. Present were His Majesty and the Crown-Prince, the members of the Cabinet, Mr. J. L. Mo-

winckel, former Prime Minister and leader of the Left; Mr. Jon Sundby, former Minister of Finance and one of the leaders of the Farmers' Party, and myself. (The Chairman of the Farmers' Party was one of the four members absent. He lived at Drammen, had gone back on Monday night, and could not possibly have got to Hamar.) The King explained the situation; I repeated what I had told His Majesty, and both Mr. Mowinckel and Mr. Sundby felt, with me, that this was not the right moment to change the Government. On the other hand, Mr. Nygaardsvold believed that the Government ought to be reinforced by the appointment of new ministers representing the other parties in Parliament; and it was suggested that this might be done through creation by the Storting of three new posts for ministers without portfolio.

While we were sitting in conference, news was coming in at every moment of the advance of the German motorized troops in the direction of Hamar and of developments in the capital. The Minister of Justice got Oslo on the telephone and gave orders that the Chief of Police should arrest Mr. Quisling. The members of the Cabinet who had been missing had now arrived, and at last the meeting of the Storting was reopened. The Minister of Defense, having consulted the



*Machine-gunning the German planes in southern Norway.*



commanding officers of the Army and Navy, gave information concerning the possibilities for an efficient resistance. These were not encouraging. On the other hand, the Storting was informed that the gold of the Bank of Norway had been safely taken out of Oslo.

While the meeting was in progress a message was sent up to me that an advanced German party was at a distance of only ten miles from Hamar. Thereupon, I told the members that the meeting would be continued at Elverum, and that a special train would leave the station in about ten minutes.

I have never seen the members less nervous. It was as if all this was part of the ordinary day's work. Some went by car to Elverum, but by far the greater number went by train. I think I was the last man to leave the building. After the departure of the train I tried to make certain that nobody was left at Hamar and then went on to Elverum in the big bus hired by the Director of the Norsk Telegrambureau for his staff and mechanical equipment. I heard no word of anxiety or complaint. Everybody seemed unconcerned, although some of them had been at work practically the whole night, and they had all left their homes and families at the shortest

possible notice, with no opportunity of taking anything with them.

It was very dark by now—nearly eight o'clock. There was a complete black-out in the district, and there are no end of roads and cross-roads between Hamar and Elverum, but at last we succeeded in finding the big college where we were to continue our meeting.

### III. AT ELVERUM

Those who trudged along in the snow up the long drive to the college buildings in Elverum, carrying their suitcases in their hands, are not likely to forget this last meeting of the Storting before the German occupation. I retain a most vivid impression of Miss Marta Nielsen (an old Labor member) marching along as calm and impregnable as if she were leading her small pupils into their class-room at school. A company of recruits with one month's training, reinforced by a considerable number of officers who were on the march to find or form their regiments, were working hard to barricade the roads leading to Elverum and to establish a line of defense. It was quite a job to find sleeping accommodations for all the members and functionaries arriving and to make arrangements to get them some kind of supper. But everybody was helpful.

A telephone message had come through, reporting that the German Minister, Dr. Bräuer, asked to negotiate with the Government. The Prime Minister suggested that the three parties in opposition should each appoint a representative to assist the Cabinet during the eventual negotiations. My party proposed my name, but I felt very certain that I could be of more use outside Norway than in Norway in the near future, and the Government held the same view. So I refused, and the Storting unanimously appointed Mr. Ivar Lykke (former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs), Mr. J. L. Mowinckel (former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs), and Mr. Jon Sundby (former Minister of Finance).

It was perfectly clear to all of us that there could be no more meetings of the Storting with the Germans in Oslo and all the important towns of the country in the hands of the enemy. So I proposed \* that the Storting should give the Government full powers to "take every step and make any decision found necessary under the actual conditions of war." The proposal was adopted unanimously and without discussion. After the decision had been taken, a "wild"

\* Proposed—not in my personal capacity but as presiding officer. The formula is: "the President proposes."

member asked the President under what paragraph of the Constitution the Storting could delegate all its power to the Government. One of the lawyer members answered that such a decision was the very gist of the Constitution, whose first paragraph reads: "The Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable realm." No more remarks were made. From the chair it was then declared that probably it might become necessary for the King and the Government to leave the soil of Norway to be in a position to continue the defense of Norwegian independence in accordance with the decision of Parliament. This was accepted without any objection. It was then unanimously decided to adjourn the Storting until it could meet in full liberty. But before the Storting was adjourned the Government asked the three parties of the opposition to delegate some members with whom the Government could consult if it should be impossible to get a full conference of leading party members. At the proposal of the President two members from each party were delegated. Once more my party asked me to be its representative, but I refused, feeling that I could serve Norway better by being entirely free and at the disposal of the King and the Government, and also thinking it wiser that the President

should represent the Parliament as such, and not any single party.

Before the meeting was closed all the members joined in singing the national anthem.

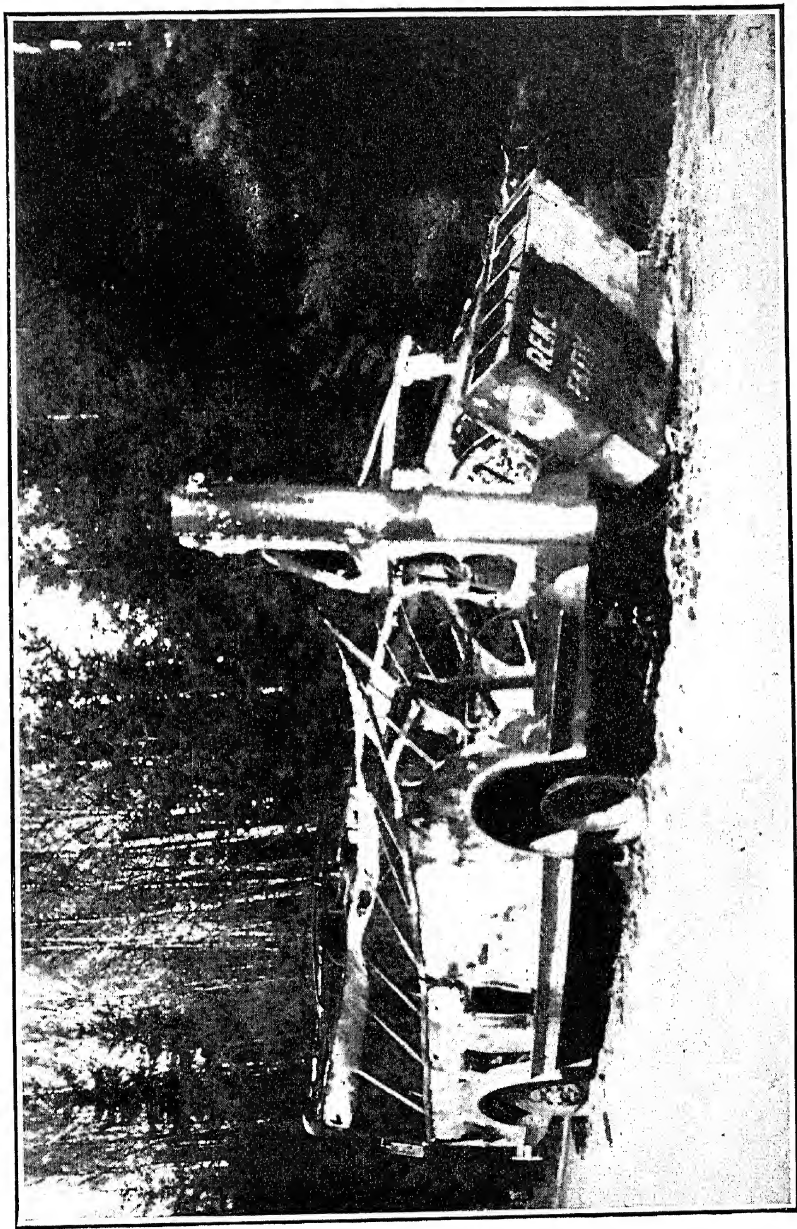
I then assisted at a conference of the members of the Cabinet, and it was decided that I should go to Sweden at once. With Oslo in the hands of the Germans, Norwegian foreign policy would have to be carried on to a very large extent by way of Stockholm. We had hopes of being allowed to buy in Sweden certain quantities of munitions and arms and other commodities of war. We still had some notions of a joint northern policy and joint Nordic interests. We did not expect or intend to ask for any aid, financial, material, or military, but thought that Swedish neutrality toward Norway would be something like Norwegian neutrality toward Finland during the recent war. We were not asking for anything more.

Mr. Nygaardsvold was very tired and had gone to bed. There were no chairs in the tiny room. I sat down on his bed for a last talk before I left, and again he asked that the burden of the Government should be lifted from his shoulders. I explained once more why I thought this impossible, shook his hand, and left.

The King had decided to send the Crown-Prin-

cess with her three children (of ten, eight and three years) across the frontier to stay with her parents (Prince Carl and Princess Ingeborg). It was impossible to be in flight and in constant danger day and night with three small children. The King and Crown-Prince had gone with her to Nybergsund, forty-five miles east-northeast of Elverum, twenty miles from the frontier.

The Government gave me a very good car belonging to the State Police and, as driver, an officer in that body. The Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, who had come to Elverum, gave me a very special visa to cross the border. We left Elverum about ten o'clock in the evening and went at full speed along the frozen road, in many places between walls of snow. It was a lonely road and we skidded on one of the many curves, nearly went over the precipice, but got safely stuck in the snow wall. It was impossible to get the car out. It was a long way to the nearest farmhouse. Nothing to do but to wait. After a while three cars came along, and we stopped them. In them was the personnel of the British Legation at Oslo. They were trying to cross into Sweden, for the Germans were attacking Elverum. We attempted to get our car out with the help of the British Legation, but their cars were not



*A bus used by the Germans, destroyed by the Norwegians.*



strong enough. They were most kind and helped me to find a seat in one of their crowded cars. And I continued the journey with one of their stenographers (soon sound asleep) on my lap. We arrived in Nybergsund in grand state about midnight. The British party had no visa for Sweden, and I provided them with a flourishing document to the Swedish authorities—fortunately it proved a real sesame—and joined the King and the Crown-Prince who were sitting in the one heated “drawing-room” of the little post-house. With them were only Hofchef (“Chief of Court,” or Lord Chamberlain) Wedel, in his old major’s uniform, and Mr. Lie, the Minister of Supplies. I think it dawned upon all of us that for the last twenty-eight hours we had had very little food and that it was bitterly cold. The landlady made us a cup of hot coffee. There was a saucer of some white stuff on the table. The Crown-Prince put a spoonful of it into his cup and made a wry face when he tasted it: the white stuff was salt, and there was no sugar. Fortunately I had a little box of saccharine tablets in my pocket—my one attempt to check my already rather terrifying waistline had been to give up sugar. And the saccharine tablets came in very handy. As a matter of fact, I missed my saccharine box when I got to Stock-

holm, and found out later that the Minister of Supplies, true to his office and with his usual presence of mind, had put the box into his pocket. When I met him in Tromsö six weeks later, he was very proud that there were still some tablets left in the box.

We discussed the immediate future and tried to decide where the King should go if Elverum were taken. The King and Crown-Prince had no intention of going into Sweden. It might embarrass the Swedish Government, and it would probably mean surrendering Norway to the Germans. We felt that the best thing for them to do would be to go north from Nybergsund and then west to Rena or Rendal.

We also discussed the composition of the so-called Quisling Cabinet. Most of the names were entirely unknown to the King, but he did know Mr. Quisling's Minister of Defense, Major Hvoslef, and remarked that it would grieve him personally if Major Hvoslef proved to be a traitor. The King knew that his political ideas had been confused, but believed him a true patriot; that was why he had appointed him Commander of the Military Establishment at Gardermoen some time before.

While we were talking the Crown-Prince fell asleep across the table. The King smiled and said:

"Young people are fortunate. They can always sleep."

We tried to persuade the King to go to bed for a couple of hours. He answered that the few bedrooms had already been taken by some members of the Storting who had arrived earlier. I declared that they would never forgive me if they were not kicked out of their beds. They were roused, and in a little while two bedrooms were ready, and the King and Crown-Prince went to bed about 2:30 in the morning and got a few hours' rest.

Major Wedel—he is 65 years old—took the seats out of three chairs, rolled his coat up under his head, and lay down on the floor. I put my feet on another chair and went to sleep where I was sitting.

We snatched about three hours' sleep. Then the Finnish Chargé d'Affaires stumbled into the room, followed by some of our friends from Elverum. We learned that the German attack on Elverum had been repulsed with a good deal of loss to the Germans and that several of the ministers of Cabinet were on their way to Nyberg-sund. My chauffeur suddenly appeared; a big motor-lorry had come along and pulled his car out of the snow.

The King and the Crown-Prince came from

their rooms. The King handed me a letter to his sister, Princess Ingeborg, and the Crown-Prince gave me a message to the Crown-Princess, who was staying at Selen Tourist-Hotel some thirty miles to the east of the frontier.

We had very little money among us—everybody had left Oslo long before any bank was open—so the Crown-Prince gave me 200 kroner to start me in Sweden. And I left.

Having crossed the border, I went to Selen, where I had an early breakfast and a talk with the Polish Minister, who had also crossed during the night. The patient fortitude and the quiet dignity of Mr. and Mrs. Neuman had been an inspiration to me ever since the invasion of Poland, and I had learned much from the Minister's insight into European politics. After my talk with him I asked to see the Crown-Princess, and she came down, wonderfully calm and courageous. I apologized for my disheveled appearance and explained that I had had no time to shave. She laughed and said: "Neither have I." We had a good talk, and she asked me to go straight to her mother in Stockholm and reassure her that her daughter and grandchildren were perfectly well and happy. Then I started for the nearest railroad station to get the morning train for Stockholm.

The train arrived there about ten o'clock in the evening. Somehow the news of my arrival had preceded me and on the platform I was met by a crowd of young Norwegians living in Stockholm. The President of the Norwegian Society in Stockholm, Mr. Sundt, was there, and a group of young Norwegian volunteers on their way back from Finland. They all wanted to shake hands, demanding to be sent across to fight the Germans. Mr. Sundt made a short speech, I answered, they all sang the national anthem, and I went off to my hotel.

The first act of my personal "war history" was over.

## CHAPTER III

### NEGOTIATIONS AND BOMBARDMENT

As I mentioned before, the German Minister had asked for negotiations. And after I left Elverum, it was decided that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Koht, should go to Oslo that same night with the three members of Parliament appointed by the Storting. But the message came through that Dr. Bräuer demanded an audience of the King and was willing to come in his car from Oslo at once. He was informed that the King would receive him at Elverum at eleven o'clock the next morning. So the delegation did not leave Elverum, but the whole Government, except Dr. Koht, left and joined the King at Nybergsund. After a conference with them, the King went back to Elverum. But the German Minister was very late, and the conference did not start until 3 P. M. (April 10th).

Dr. Bräuer demanded a personal talk with the King and not with his ministers. At first the King refused to see him alone, but in order not

to block the way to possible negotiations, consented to have a personal talk with him. During this interview the King explained that under the Constitution of Norway, "the King" means the holder of the throne and his Council, and that the King can not make any personal decision about political matters. He then called Dr. Koht.

The German Minister declared that the situation was now an entirely new one, and the German Government could no longer be satisfied with the arrangement set forth in the memorandum of the previous day. The German Government felt bound to demand that a new government should be formed in Norway—a government which had the confidence of Germany—so as to ensure friendly coöperation between the two countries. As to the enumeration of certain steps mentioned in the memorandum, Dr. Bräuer declared that it would be necessary to enforce stronger measures. But any arrangement had to be based upon the assumption that a new government would be appointed. And the German Government demanded that the King appoint Mr. Quisling chief of the government and appoint as Cabinet Ministers the men Quisling had announced

as his Cabinet—possibly with certain supplements.

After consultation with Dr. Koht the King declared that he could not appoint any government which did not have the confidence of the Norwegian people, and several elections had fully proved that Mr. Quisling did not have this. His government in Norway would only be another Kuusinen-government.\* The Foreign Minister informed the German Minister that the Nygaardsvold Cabinet had declared its willingness to resign, and he asked whether the German Government could agree to a friendly government composed of other persons than those mentioned which might be appointed to coöperate with Germany. Dr. Bräuer declared that the composition of the Quisling Cabinet might be discussed, but it had been decided by the Führer that Quisling should be the head of the Government.

At last the King declared that he would put the matter before his Constitutional Government, and that no formal answer could be given until after such consultation. The German Minister emphasized the fact that the matter was very urgent, and it was arranged that going

\* Kuusinen, the Finnish traitor, appointed Prime Minister by Stalin in December, 1939, to play Finland into his hands.



*The Norwegian fjord-borses were extremely useful.*



south to Oslo he should telephone from Eidsvold and get in touch with Dr. Koht. It was thought that by then the King would have consulted his Cabinet.

Afterwards Dr. Bräuer had a short conversation with the three members of the Storting, but this was only a reiteration of what had previously been said during the conference with the King. No question was raised concerning the demands in the German memorandum of April 9th, the Germans making it the first condition for any negotiation that the King should appoint a new Cabinet.

At eight o'clock in the evening Dr. Koht, who had stayed at Elverum, was informed by the Government sitting at Nybergsund that the King and his Cabinet had taken their decision: the King would not be able to appoint a Quisling Cabinet at the dictates of Germany. A moment afterwards Dr. Bräuer called up from Eidsvold and was duly informed. The German Minister asked whether this meant that the Norwegians would continue to resist the German invasion; and the Foreign Minister answered: "Yes, to the utmost."

That same evening the Government issued the following proclamation to the Norwegian people:

The German Government has demanded that the King of Norway should appoint a government which has the confidence of Germany and which has been nominated by the German leader. The King has not been able to bow to a demand which would reduce Norway to a state of dependency. No government can be given power here which has not the confidence of the Norwegian people.

The Cabinet which has now for five years been entrusted with the Government in collaboration with the Storting continues to be the only legal Government.

This Government declared its willingness to resign when the German attack on Norway was carried out. But the Storting unanimously asked the Government to continue, and the Government does continue.

The Government turns to the whole nation and asks to be helped in maintaining a legal order in the country: the Constitution of Norway, the freedom, the independence of Norway.

Germany has made Norway the victim of one of those ugly acts of violent aggression of which too many are known to history. The Germans have invaded the country with bombing and every other means of destruction. Grossly and recklessly Germany has violated every right of a small nation wishing only to live at peace.

The Norwegian Government feels convinced that the whole world will condemn this aggression. But first and foremost the Government rests assured that the people of Norway will strain every nerve in their

effort to raise anew the liberty and independence which a foreign power has tried to crush with brute force.

The prospects for Norway may look dark at this moment and the violators may succeed in ruining much. But the Government rests assured in the hope that the country can envisage a new and bright future.

And so the Government urges the whole nation to safeguard the inheritance of freedom, faithful to the great ideas which have carried Norway through the centuries. Long live the fatherland! Long live a free Norway!

To the proclamation of the Government the King added the following words:

I fully associate myself with the appeal from the Government to the people of Norway. I feel convinced that the whole nation will support me in the decision made.

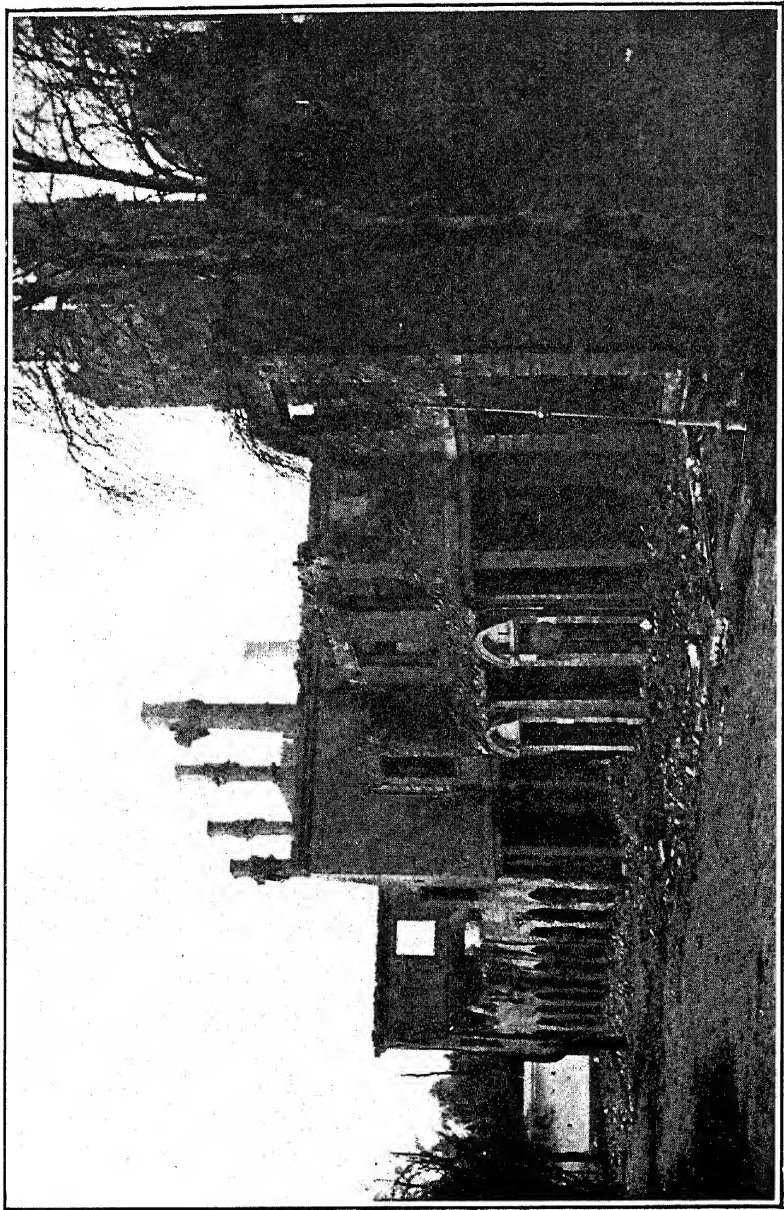
On the following day Captain Irgens of the Norwegian-American Line, coming with a special message from Mr. Quisling, asked to be granted an interview with the King. Mr. Irgens had no intimate connection with the Quisling movement but had declared himself willing to go to the King and deliver the message. The King saw him for a moment—and Mr. Irgens

declared later that the King gave him the only dignified answer any king could give to any message from Mr. Quisling. But an hour after Mr. Irgens' return to Oslo German bombers made a devastating raid on Nybergsund, which is not even a village but only a few farmhouses scattered around a bridge. No soldiers were stationed there. The King and the Crown-Prince had to take shelter in the snow under the spruce trees, hotly pursued by the German planes who machine-gunned them, as well as the members of the Cabinet.

The bus which had been the working center of the journalists on the staff of the Norsk Telegrambureau was blown to atoms, and the house where they slept was hit by an incendiary bomb. But the population in Nybergsund was so sparse that there were few casualties, and the explosive force of the bombs was reduced by the deep snow.

On that same day another German squadron bombarded Elverum—the Germans did not know for certain that the Government was not there. The hospital was hit; there was a direct hit on an air-raid shelter. Fifty-four persons were killed and 110 wounded.

On account of these German attacks and because it became manifest that it was the primary



*Elverum after the German air attacks.*



object of the Germans to kill the King, the Crown-Prince, and the Government, it became important that, until a regular line of defense could be established and fighting planes and anti-aircraft artillery brought into the country, the whereabouts of the King and the Government should be kept a secret.

This was mentioned in a proclamation by the King to his people on April 13th. King Haakon said:

For more than a century, my people and my country have not had to live through so dark an hour of trial, and I appeal urgently to all Norwegian women and men to do the utmost that every single individual can do to save the liberty and independence of our dear country.

Norway has been the victim of a blitz-attack from a nation with which we have always had friendly relations.

The powerful opponent has not hesitated to bomb the peaceful civilian population in towns and country districts. Women and children are exposed to death and inhuman sufferings.

Our position is such to-day that I cannot inform you where in Norway I myself, the Crown-Prince, and the Government reside. The armed German forces directed a violent attack against us when we were in a small country district undefended and with-

out any fortifications. High explosives, incendiary bombs, and machine guns were directed against the civilian population and ourselves in the most unscrupulous and callous way. The intention of the attack could be only one: to annihilate at once all of us who were assembled to solve the difficulties and promote the interests of Norway.

I thank all those who are at their posts with myself and the Government in this fight for the independence and liberty of Norway.

I ask all of you to commemorate those who gave their lives for our fatherland.

God save Norway!

## CHAPTER IV

### DEVELOPMENTS IN OCCUPIED NORWAY

IN THE meantime Oslo had been the scene of a good deal of confusion. There was violent fighting at the Fornebo airdrome in the early morning; a great number of German bombers were circling over the town, and the limited anti-aircraft artillery was firing. A few German planes were brought down, but comparatively few bombs were dropped. About eleven o'clock the German troops came pouring in from the west and east sides of the fjord. And then German transport planes started landing troops. But there was very little fighting in Oslo. The only troops in town were the cadets of the military academy, the pupils of the school for non-commissioned officers, and about 400 men of the Royal Guard. All the young men wanted to fight, but the Germans dropped a few bombs on the Akershus Slottsplass and declared that if there was any resistance in Oslo the town would be bombarded out of existence. The few Nor-

wegian troops were withdrawn, and the Germans hurried along the road to Hamar to try and capture the King, the Storting, and the Government—their first objective.

As a matter of fact, when Quisling had declared himself Prime Minister, he telephoned to the colonel commanding the Elverum district—one of his old comrades—and told him: "I'll hold you personally responsible for the capture of the Royal Family, the Storting, and the Government."

In Oslo the Germans left Mr. Quisling probably believing that he would have considerable backing and would be able to take hold of the capital. About one o'clock a strong detachment of armed Germans—of course, every German in Oslo was armed and under instruction—marched from the Legation, took the unprotected radio station and handed it over to Mr. Quisling. Most of the announcers had left with the Government. Those who were left refused to lend their voices to Mr. Quisling and were interned. But he himself and his small bodyguard of young followers, who had put on the uniforms forbidden in Norway, monopolized the radio and told all those who were listening in, all over a country thoroughly surprised and bewildered, that it was a misunderstanding that the army

should be mobilized and that people should just stay at home and listen in to all instructions and orders emanating from the new "national" Government. After their severe losses when trying to force their way up the Oslofjord the Germans had not sufficient men to take over the telegraph, telephone, and post offices in Oslo that day. But on the following day large numbers of German troops were landed south of Oslo and marched north. And on Thursday the German ships were able to get into the port of Oslo.

In the meantime Mr. Quisling, not finding people willing to serve in his Cabinet, declared that he had taken over the Ministries of Justice, Defense, and Foreign Affairs. All the Government servants still in Oslo were asked to meet Mr. Quisling on Wednesday morning in the various department buildings and give him their oath of allegiance. But when Mr. Quisling made his tour of the buildings, he found nobody there. He asked the permanent Undersecretary of the Department of Justice to give him the keys. The Undersecretary refused to do so. But Mr. Quisling forced his way into the War Office with the help of German soldiers. He took possession of the Department of Foreign Affairs, of which nearly all the qualified functionaries had left with the Government. And Mr. Quisling cabled

all the Norwegian Legations abroad and all the consuls that he had taken over the Government and under threats of "personal responsibility" demanded their declaration of allegiance to the new régime. Not a single member of the Foreign Service reacted to his demand, and only one single person acknowledged receipt of the cablegram.

Evidently the authority of Mr. Quisling in Norway and his influence in the nation were not exactly what he had led the Germans to believe. Everything had come to a full stop in Oslo.

In order to make things move again Mr. Quisling summoned the presidents of the big organizations in Oslo: the Shipowners' Association, the Employers' Association, the Association of Industrialists, the Council of Trade Unions, and so on. They were instructed to meet him Thursday morning in the parliament building, where German troops had been quartered.\*

But no leaders of organizations turned up at the Storting. Instead they sent a deputation to the German Minister telling him that if Quisling

\* In the staircase of the parliament building for many years there had stood a desk carrying, on bronze tablets, the names of the nearly 1500 Norwegian sailors who were killed by German torpedoes and guns during the last Great War, thus paying the price for Norway's neutrality. These tablets were taken away by the Germans, and a bust of Hitler put up where they had been.

and his uniformed gang did not disappear there would certainly be riots and probably fights in the streets of Oslo, which might prove dangerous in more than one way. Dr. Bräuer saw the point and promised that Mr. Quisling should be withdrawn.

The German Minister then set to work to find an arrangement which might in some way legalize the German rule or those acting under German rule in Norway. And the idea struck his advisers that they might in some way or other make use of the Supreme Court, whose members had not left Oslo. Now, under the Constitution of Norway, the Supreme Court has no political or constitutional power whatsoever. But it is stated in Paragraph 39 that if the King dies and the heir to the throne is a minor, the Cabinet shall at once convoke the Storting, and next (Paragraph 46), that if the Cabinet should fail to convoke the Storting under such circumstances, it is the unconditional duty of the Supreme Court to get the Storting convoked after four weeks.

These paragraphs had no application at all under the actual circumstances, but they illustrated why the Germans were seriously trying to rid themselves of the King and the Crown-Prince and have the three-year-old Prince

Harald made a puppet king in the hands of the German rulers.

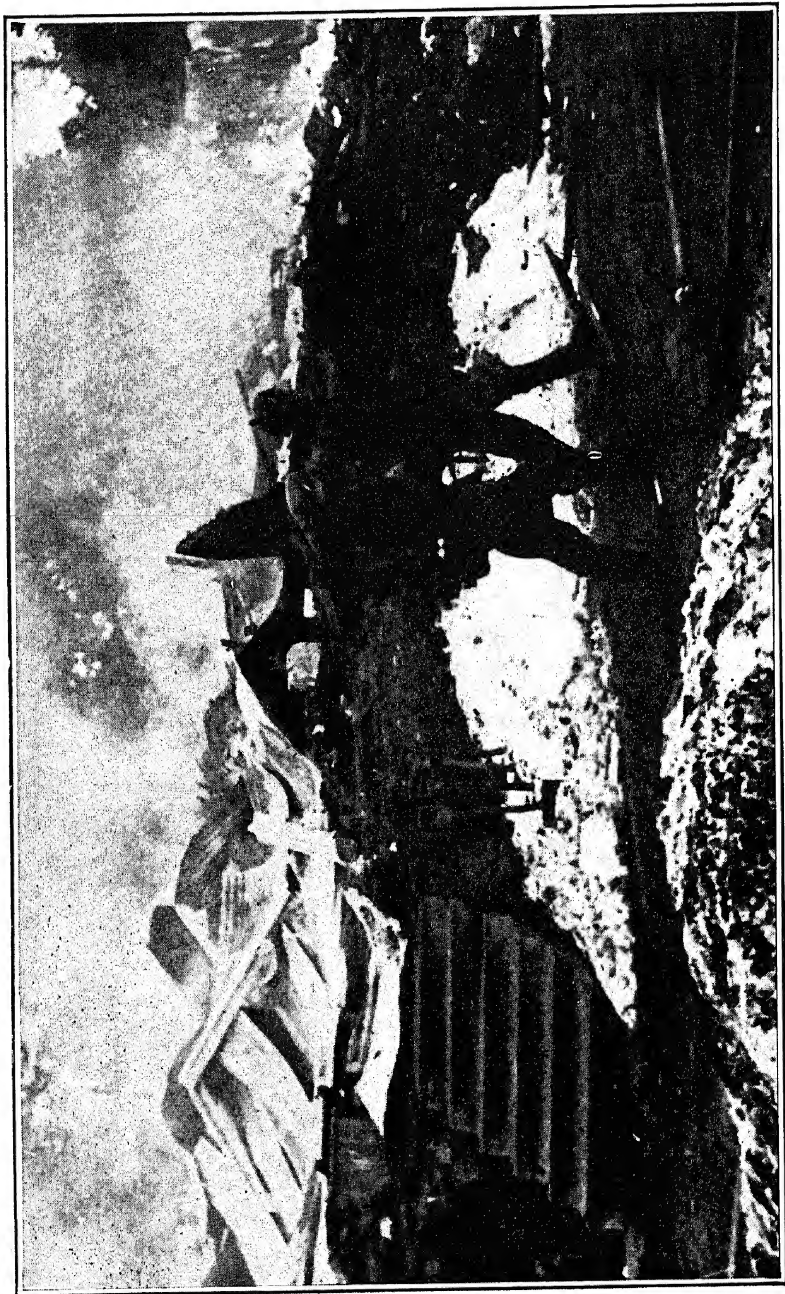
Things did not work out quite that way. But on April 16th Chief Justice Paal Berg got the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm on the telephone. It must be remembered that all lines of communications in Norway had been dislocated, but the Legation in Stockholm was in touch by telephone both with Oslo and with the Government "somewhere in Norway." Mr. Berg dictated the following communication to the Norwegian Minister:

The Supreme Court of Justice has issued this statement:

WHEREAS, German armed forces have occupied certain areas of Norway and so have made it *de facto* impossible for the Norwegian Government to carry on an effective administration in these areas, and

WHEREAS it is imperative that the civilian administration should be carried on,

THE Supreme Court has considered it necessary to be instrumental to the institution of a Council of Administration to carry on the civilian administration in the occupied areas for the period of the German military occupation. Confident that the King of Norway under the present extraordinary circumstances will approve the Supreme Court's recommendation of this emergency measure, the Supreme Court appoints



German "protectors" at work.  
SWIRE



as members of this provisional Council of Administration: Mr. I. E. Christensen [Governor of Oslo], Mr. Bache-Wiig [Director in the Department of Provisions], Andreas Diesen [chief of the medical services of the city of Oslo], Judge Harbek [former permanent Undersecretary in the Department of Justice], Gunnar Jahn [Director of the Statistical Service], Mr. Mork [lecturer at the University of Agriculture], and Dr. D. A. Seip [Rector of the University of Oslo].

All these men were able and highly respected, and none of them was under any suspicion of having Nazi sympathies: Mr. Christensen had been a member of Mr. Lykke's Cabinet and Mr. Jahn had been Minister of Finance in Mr. Mowinckel's cabinet. The others had taken no part in active politics but were highly competent men in their professions.

Chief Justice Berg further communicated to the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm:

It was the agreed condition for this announcement that Mr. Quisling and his followers should disappear, and furthermore the Supreme Court in a memorandum to the German Minister made known that the Supreme Court would at the earliest opportunity communicate to the King of Norway what they had decided. In this memorandum it is further stated that

"the decision of the Supreme Court has been made on the presumption that the Provisional Council of Administration shall have no competence in questions of Foreign Policy.

Then Mr. Berg dictated the following letter to the King:

The Supreme Court has considered that they ought to take this action because Norwegian interests made it imperative that there should not be administrative chaos in the areas occupied by the Germans. We have made it very clear to the German Minister that this Provisional Administrative Council is *not* a government, but solely an administration with no political functions. Furthermore, the reservation was explicitly made that the very instituting of the Administrative Council meant that Mr. Quisling and his followers should resign and that Mr. Quisling should declare his loyalty to the Administrative Council. Yesterday he did so publicly over the radio. The Administrative Council has taken up its functions. And at the same time in Oslo radio yesterday leading organizations among them, the Council of Trade Unions announced their loyalty.

I can report from my conversation with the German Minister yesterday that his view-point is this: He has made an offer to negotiate with the Norwegian Government. This offer has been declined. He can not take another initiative. The initiative to negotiate must be taken by the Norwegians. He maintains the

conditions stated in his memorandum. Undersecretary of the German Department for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Habicht, who is here, has declared to me that his views are identical with Dr. Bräuer's. I have found it my duty to give Your Majesty this information.

Unofficially and privately I have been requested to ask Your Majesty whether the Crown-Prince could make a short speech over the radio and ask the inhabitants of the occupied areas to remain calm and cool, not to lose their heads, and to abstain from acts of sabotage and violence. Several leading men in Oslo have publicly recommended this attitude. I think it might be just and necessary if people in the occupied districts once more could be instructed on these lines in such a way and in such words as Your Majesty might find suitable.

Over the telephone Mr. Berg stressed the fact that what had been done in no way meant the institution of a new government, and that the Foreign Office and the War Office were entirely outside the new arrangement.

Before the telephone-letter from Chief Justice Berg had reached the Government, the following official statement had been issued:

The so-called Government set up by Major Quisling in Oslo at the moment when German troops occupied the town has been withdrawn and we are glad to know that the attempt to create a new Nor-

wegian Government to fight the legal Government presided over by the King has been given up. Norway has in this hour only one Government, appointed by the King and unanimously requested by the Storting to continue.

The Administrative Council established during the last few days in Oslo for those parts of Norway which have been occupied by the Germans is an emergency expedient and can not replace the Norwegian Government. This Council is forced to make its decisions as directed by the power which has invaded the country with brute force. Consequently it does not represent the free will of the people and has no legal title under the laws of Norway. Nevertheless, to a certain extent this Council may help to protect Norwegian civic rights during the time of enemy-occupation of certain areas of Norway. But it is obvious that the Council can hold no power in any district which is reconquered by the Royal Government of Norway.

Every Norwegian citizen should be convinced that the King and the Government are doing their very utmost to rid the country of foreign rule of violence and to rebuild the free and independent Norway as quickly as possible. In this war of independence every Norwegian must do his bit if he wants to deserve the name of Norwegian. By working together we shall win back the land of our fathers and make the people of Norway master in their own house.

On the following day the telephone message reached the King and in Council on April 19th it was decided to send the following answer to the Chief Justice:

On April 18th I received the letter to me which you dictated over the telephone to Minister Wollebaek in Stockholm.

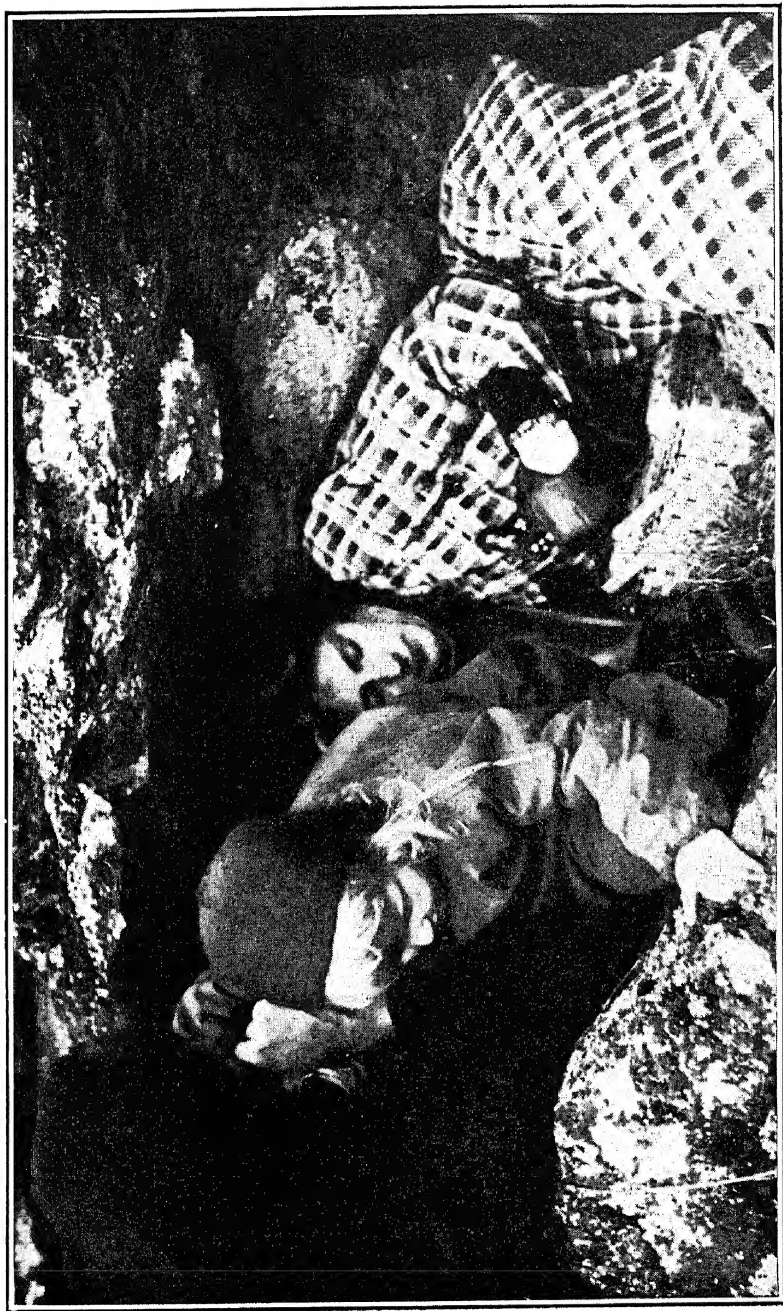
In every essential this letter has been answered in the public statement issued by the Government April 17th; I enclose a copy.

You will see from this announcement that I fully understand the emergency which has moved the Supreme Court to take action in order to institute an Administrative Council for such parts of Norway as are under German occupation. And I note that this provisional Administrative Council in no way regards itself as a Government, but only as an organ to aid the civilian administration during the period of occupation. I take it as a matter of course that all Norwegian citizens in occupied areas still look upon themselves as citizens of the state of Norway and thus under the authority of myself and my Government. But the authority exercised by the Administrative Council in important matters is dependent on a foreign power and is not exercised on behalf of myself or the Government of Norway. And so I must reserve for myself and the Norwegian Government full liberty as to the decisions taken by the Council during this period.

I note that questions of national defense and foreign policy are not included among the preoccupations of the Administrative Council and that no authority except the legal Norwegian Government has any say in these matters.

In your letter to me you mention that the representatives of the German Government in Oslo assert that they can no longer take the initiative to negotiate with the Norwegian Government but at the same time declare that they maintain the demands set forth in the German memorandum of April 9th; if that is the case I can only remark that there is no foundation for negotiations, the memorandum cited having the character of an absolute ultimatum without any possibility of alterations. This memorandum demanded such far-reaching German domination in Norwegian matters that it was impossible for a neutral and independent state to accept such conditions. Furthermore, it aimed at using Norway as an instrument in the German war against the Allies. The Norwegian Government can negotiate only under the condition that German troops are withdrawn from the country.

Your suggestion that the Crown-Prince should speak over the radio to Norwegians in the occupied areas is not practicable, the Crown-Prince having no access to the senders in these parts of Norway. Of course, I agree that people in the areas occupied by the Germans must be considerate and not commit any illegal acts. But nobody can expect that I or the Crown-Prince should admonish the people to obey



*On the Narvik front. A five-year-old girl with her mother and grandmother biding from the German bombers.*



German orders. I feel convinced that my people under all circumstances will maintain the fortitude which is the inheritance of the Norwegians and will give proof of their national spirit.

On April 22nd, as agreed at Hamar, three ministers without portfolio were appointed; but only one of these, the Conservative, Major Sven Nielson, member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Storting, was available and took office.

Two small incidents might be mentioned as typical of the current of public opinion in Oslo:

The Germans had no objections to the Norwegian Trade Unions celebrating the first of May in Oslo. They even invited them to do so, to make speeches and shout hurrah as usual, and offered to make a film of it—of course to be sent abroad as propaganda. The answer of the Trade Unions was to cancel the traditional parade and to advise their members not to appear on the streets on the first of May. Oslo was a dead city that day.

On the other hand the Germans forbade any celebration of the seventeenth of May—the Fourth of July in Norway. And the Norwegians answered by hoisting their flags at half mast on the Anniversary of our Constitution.

## CHAPTER V

### POLITICAL AND PERSONAL INTERLUDE

IN ORDER to understand the political situation in Norway and what preceded the German invasion it is necessary to have some idea of the main currents of public opinion in the country and the relative strength of the political parties.

Norway has no two-party system, but proportional representation. The whole country is not one constituency but is divided into eighteen provinces and eleven groups of towns with proportional representation within each separate constituency. Since the last Great War no party has commanded an absolute majority in the national parliament, called the Storting, and no government has been a majority government. This means that generally the administration has not been very strong. There was a Left Government which lasted over the elections of 1918 and resigned in June, 1920, to be followed by a Conservative Government under Otto B. Halvorsen. This lasted exactly one year, to be fol-

lowed by another Left Government which lasted until March, 1923, when Otto Halvorsen again came to power. He died on May 30th the same year and was succeeded by Mr. Abraham Berge, whose Cabinet had to resign on July 25, 1924, and was succeeded by a Left Cabinet under Mr. J. L. Mowinckel. His Government fell on March 5, 1926, and the Conservatives once more came to power with Mr. Ivar Lykke (March, 1926-January, 1928).

Now, until the general elections of 1927 the Conservatives had been the greatest group in Parliament and, with the Farmers' Party generally supporting them, commanded a majority of 2 in the Storting (76 as against 74 members). But in 1927 the Labor Party came in as by far the greatest group, with 59 representatives against 31 Conservatives, 31 Left, 26 Farmers' Party, and 3 Communists. And when Mr. Lykke resigned, the old leader of the Labor Party, Mr. Chr. Hornsrud, was called to form the new Government (January 28, 1928). But the declaration this Government gave to the Storting was found to be far too Red; and the Government had to disappear, after seventeen days, on February 15, 1928. Then Mr. Mowinckel once more formed a Government of the Left.

In the general elections in 1930 the Com-

munists disappeared. They have not since been represented in Parliament. The Labor Party lost 12 seats; the Conservatives gained 13, the Left gained 3 and the Farmers' Party lost 1—with the result that Conservatives and Left had a combined majority of 4 (77 as against 73). And the Conservatives supported Mr. Mowinckel as the lesser evil. But he was deserted by a few of the most radical members of his own party and had to resign on May 12, 1931. He was succeeded by a Government of the small Farmers' Party under Mr. Per Kolstad, who died in March, 1932, and was succeeded by Mr. Jens Hundseid, who was in turn outmanœuvred by Mr. Mowinckel after less than one year. The general elections of 1933 once more returned the Labor Party as by far the strongest group (69 as against 31 Conservatives, 25 Left, 23 Farmers' Party and 2 "wild" members). On March 30, 1935, Mowinckel resigned and was succeeded by the popular leader of the Labor Party, Mr. Johan Nygaardsvold, who has since been Prime Minister.

The general elections of 1936 did not materially alter the situation in Parliament. The Labor Party had a gain of 1 seat; the Conservatives had a gain of 5; the Left lost 2 seats, the Farmers' Party 5, and the "wilds" came in with 3

members (not all belonging to the same variety of "wild").

It can safely be said that Mr. Nygaardsvold's Government enjoyed the confidence of the nation. Every year the Conservatives proposed a vote of censure on two grounds: financial extravagance in general and unwillingness to make the necessary sacrifices for national defense. But neither the Left nor the Farmers' Party were willing to vote down the Government. After the outbreak of the new Great War the Conservatives pressed for a national Government, but Mr. Nygaardsvold did not believe in unity. And on the other hand it must be admitted that after the outbreak of the war in September, 1939, and especially after the Finnish-Russian War, the Government was wanting (too late, it proved) to give to national defense anything that might be demanded, so much, indeed, that an old pacifist member of the Labor Party bolted and joined the number of "wilds."

There had been during the last few years a good deal of what might be called philosophical unrest, especially among young men. Communism had been on the wane, but—especially under the influence of developments in Italy and Germany—there had been a growing demand for "strong men," for "Führers," for sweeping meas-

ures. There was a feeling that political institutions and procedures had not been readjusted to meet modern conditions; in many quarters there was a craving for "more business in politics and less politics in business." Certain sections in the press were constantly trying to ridicule the Storting and the whole political system as not efficient enough. And the complex party situation called for a thorough discussion of the very principles of our parliamentary system.

But anybody taking this as an evidence of budding sympathy for a totalitarian system of government would have been entirely mistaken. It was rather evidence of a growing realization of the waste of energy in party strife, of a groping toward new means of minimizing the costs of friction in public life, of a realization of the fact that national politics does not mean merely fighting—fighting other parties and platforms and their political ideas and conceptions, but that it means also (and in daily routine more than anything else) coöperation and coördination. The whole system of proportional representation, carried through in any town council, in any appointment of committees by Government or Parliament, reducing any possibility of a political "spoils system," had tended to make political life less dramatic and more tolerant—a



*Grave of a German officer in Norway. Note the bullet hole in the helmet.*



development which was a thorn in the flesh of old diehards and young hotspurs.

Some people discussed what was called "political fatigue"; but the fact is that an active political interest has never been more manifest in Norway than it has been in recent years.

Of all those who had the suffrage, 77.55 per cent voted at the elections of 1930; in 1933, the percentage was 76.36 and in 1936, 84.02 per cent, the highest percentage since the introduction of universal suffrage.

But even if the craving for a "Führer" did not go very deep or amount to very much materially, there is little doubt that if the Conservatives had not taken a very strong stand against any movement opposing democracy, and if the potential Führers had not been so ridiculous and so ridiculously unimportant, the movement might have gained momentum in Norway.

But Norwegians have a keen sense of humor. They do not like Swedish arm-gymnastics outside the gymnasiums and they do not admire colored shirts. When Mr. Quisling tried to start his Nazi Party in 1933 and dress up his young followers in imitation brown shirts with imitation swastika armlets and similar paraphernalia, and when the Communists tried to do the same

thing in red, a law was passed strictly forbidding anybody but the police and the soldiers of the Army and Navy to wear uniforms.

And when the new party under the alluring name of Nasjonal Samling (meaning national unity, but spelling national socialism) made overtures to the Conservatives for some kind of mutual support,\* the Executive Committee of the Conservative Party unanimously decided that any Conservative who had dealings with the Nazis should be expelled from the party.

There were some unsophisticated sympathizers among business men, to a limited extent in the Army and among college boys. There has always been a good deal of truth in the saying of Taine's: "To any intelligent young man of twenty the world seems a great scandal." And the would-be Nazi leaders of Norway set out to preach this gospel. Young boys love the feeling of being in a conspiracy and having the full and wonderful confidence of their elders. But when one asked about the constructive ideas of the new party, no clear or intelligent answer could be given. What was, was inefficient, but that was not novel, and the appeal to anti-Semitism was

\* The election laws of Norway make it possible for two parties to support each other nationally or in any particular constituency by a system of transferable votes.

also ridiculous in Norway, where there has never been any Jewish problem. Until the Constitution had been amended in 1851, Jews could not enter Norway; since then there have been no restrictions, but the total number of Jews in Norway never exceeded 1,500 (at the census of 1930, 1,359), and of those none have been very prominent or very rich. There is not a single Jewish banker or financier in Norway. Mr. Quisling, without any original idea in his at first only mildly confused brain, aping Julius Streicher and Goebbels, had to call any man whom he did not like "a Jew," especially every leading politician. There was not a single "Jew" among them, although a very few had drops of Jewish blood. They were "pure Aryans" even after the laws of Germany. But Mr. Quisling's followers invented—and that is their only original contribution—a new term, "spiritual Jews": some leaders were "Jews in flesh" and some "Jews in spirit." So they were all equally bad.

People had some difficulty in taking Mr. Quisling and his teaching seriously, so the electorate in Norway did not respond to the appeal of "Nasjonal Samling."

In the elections of 1933 Mr. Quisling's party got 27,850 votes in the whole country as against Labor, 500,526, Conservatives, 272,690, Left,

220,001 and Farmers' Party, 173,534. In no single constituency did the party come anywhere near the number of votes necessary to obtain a seat. In Oslo it took more than 21,000 votes to get a seat; Mr. Quisling got 5,441. In the province of Opland it took more than 9,000 votes to get a seat; Mr. Quisling got 2,841. And those two constituencies were his strongholds, his own name leading the ticket.

In the elections of 1936 Mr. Quisling's party was reduced from 2.23 per cent of the total vote in the country to 1.83 per cent. Labor obtained 618,616 votes, Conservatives 329,560 votes, Left 239,191, the Farmers' Party, 168,038—and the Nazis, 26,577. In no constituency did Mr. Quisling's candidates get a quarter of the votes necessary to obtain a seat.

And after 1936 there were several breaches in his party. His key man in western Norway, Mr. Georg Vedeler, broke away with a good deal of publicity, and Mr. Quisling's leading prophet in Oslo, a young barrister, also denounced him. The results were clearly shown at the municipal elections of 1937. In 1934 "Nasjonal Samling" obtained 0.82 per cent of the total vote in the country districts, 2.75 per cent in the towns. In 1937 the Quisling percentage in the country districts had sunk to 0.15, and in the towns the

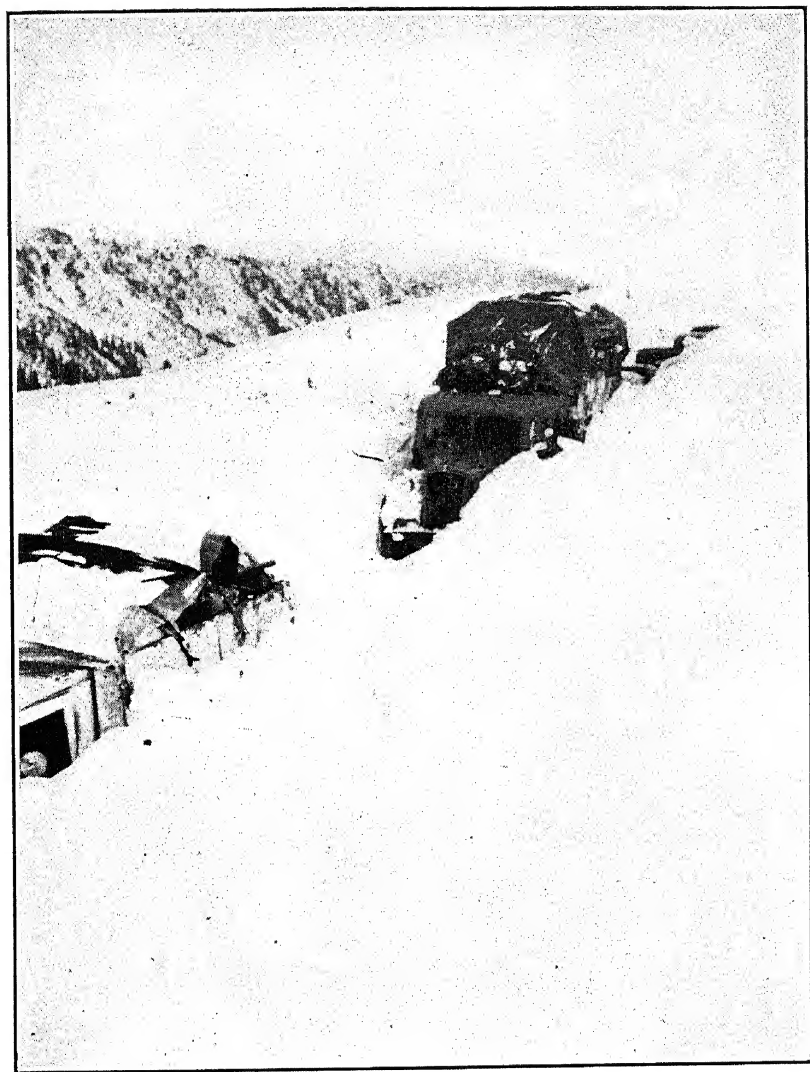
party had nearly disappeared. It obtained 0.06 per cent of the votes. And it can be safely stated that the Quisling percentage in the nation had been even more reduced in 1940.

Mr. Quisling had had one daily paper in Oslo with the ironic name of *Free Nation* (*Fritt Folk*). It soon dwindled into a weekly sheet. But some weeks before the German invasion of Norway it suddenly—after an injection of German money—became active and a daily paper once more, although the German-Russian pact had undermined the very foundation of the Quisling propaganda against every other party as tainted with Marxism.

The Norwegian "Führer" is usually called Major Quisling; but it is twelve years since Mr. Quisling quit the army with the title of Major. He was considered a gifted young man when he left the Military Academy of Norway in 1908 with a first-class degree, graduated from the military high school in 1911, and served on the General Staff. He is a very well-read man with a weakness for German philosophy. He was Military Attaché at the Norwegian Legation in Petrograd, in 1918-19, and in Helsingfors, from 1919 to 1921. When Dr. Nansen travelled in Russia as High Commissioner for refugees and was fighting the great famine, Mr. Quisling, having pre-

viously represented the International Relief Committee, acted as his secretary, from 1924 to 1926. Later he was Attaché at the Norwegian Legation in Moscow, particularly looking after the British interests then entrusted to Norway. He came home a full-fledged Bolshevik. He contacted some of the most extreme leaders in the Labor Party and offered to organize Red Guards and pave the road to social revolution. He did not inspire the necessary confidence and was turned down. His Red sympathies were so well known that when Dr. Nansen worked for his big international scheme to help the Armenians and got the financial support of various countries, England and France were not willing to coöperate; and one of the reasons privately given was that Dr. Nansen's A.D.C., Mr. Quisling, was so Red that any aid given would be playing the game of the Bolsheviks.

Without taking any active part in politics he then turned to the Farmers' Party, seemingly with the idea of creating Green Guards on the Bulgarian model. And in the next two years he was active in journalism as an advocate of armaments and became more and more aggressive toward his former Bolshevik friends. Mr. Quisling married a Russian lady while in Moscow. He has no children.



*An ambulance making its way over the mountains.*



When the very young Farmers' Party suddenly came into power in May, 1931, and formed a minority cabinet, Mr. Quisling was launched as a possible Minister of Defense by the newspaper which had printed his articles. And the leader of the Farmers' Party, who had some difficulty in filling the posts and who did not know him personally at all, appointed him a member of his Government. He soon proved a great failure as a Cabinet Minister: he was no orator, and mild-mannered and self-conscious, inexperienced and extremely confused, he was absolutely at a loss in a political discussion. He was ruthlessly attacked and ridiculed by the Labor Party, and at the same time he was developing a more and more striking superiority complex, approaching the abnormal. The climax was reached when it was announced one morning that he had been assaulted by the Communists in his room in the War Office; they had thrown red pepper in his eyes and handled him very roughly. The whole story was very mysterious. Mr. Quisling was more or less openly accused of having faked the assault himself. The police could not find any clue. And it was the popular belief that Quisling had gone more or less out of his mind. His Government colleagues were furious. There was no collaboration in the Cabinet, Mr. Quisling had

no sense of political loyalty, and the Government was on the point of disruption when it had to resign.

Immediately afterward Mr. Quisling started his new party, the story of which has been related above.

For various reasons I personally was not very popular among the members of the new party. I had been active in getting them branded by the Conservatives; I had warned against them as a public danger and had even maintained that Mr. Quisling and his program constituted a case for medical and not for political investigation.

So Mr. Quisling did not like my being re-elected President of the Storting, a position I had filled since 1926. Now, that position in Norway is unique. The Storting's president ranks next to the King, before the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet. If there is a tie when the vote is taken he has the deciding vote. And it is one of the sacred traditions of the Storting that on solemn occasions the President gives utterance to the feelings of the whole nation. He is master of the agenda of the Storting, he can at any time propose that the debates should be abbreviated and a time limit put to any orator. And such proposals from the chair can not be discussed. They are put to the vote at once—and they are always

carried. In many different ways it is felt that the position as President is not only one of prestige and honor, but one of power and importance. Accordingly, as a rule there is a fight among the parties for that position. The President must be elected with an absolute majority. If no candidate gets a majority on the first ballot, there is a second ballot; and if no candidate obtains an absolute majority then, there is a third ballot between the two candidates who have the highest number of votes. For many years each party put up a candidate and as a rule I was elected on the third ballot. In recent years only two candidates had been proposed, one from the Labor Party and myself, and I had been elected on the first ballot. Then after Munich I took a very strong stand against the policy it sanctified and against Mr. Chamberlain and publicly uttered the opinion that after the Munich Agreement no small nation could be sure of continued independent national life. There was a good deal of criticism of this attitude in Norway. German newspapers declared that it would be an insult to Germany to reelect Mr. Hambro as President, and this was echoed in Mr. Quisling's paper and was given some weight in certain papers of the Farmers' Party. It was announced that the Farmers' Party would prefer a Labor President, and there

was some excitement when the Storting met in January, 1939. But at the first meeting the leader of the Labor Party announced that his party would not put up a candidate this time but would vote for Mr. Hambro as a protest against the very idea that foreign newspapers should influence the election of the first officer of the Norwegian Storting. So for the first time in modern Norwegian history, the President was elected without opposition.

At the Assembly of the League of Nations in December, 1939, I was elected President. There was some opposition to this in Norway, especially in the Farmers' Party. Russia was excluded from the League, and it was whispered that I had been instrumental to that exclusion, and I had been denounced in the Moscow radio. The critics believed that the President of the Storting should be absolutely neutral, so that he might not involve the country in difficulties.

So when the Storting met in January, 1940, the Farmers' Party once more tried to formulate a case against the reelection of Mr. Hambro. They made overtures to the Left offering to vote for a Left candidate if the other parties would unite and oust Mr. Hambro. The Left Party answered by script that they found any such scheme irresponsible at the present moment, that



*Sharpsbooters in the snow.*



they had decided unanimously to cast their votes for Mr. Hambro, and that they called on the other parties to work for national unity and forget personal dislikes or preferences. A copy of this letter was forwarded by the Left to the Labor Party and the Conservative group, with the result that once more I was reëlected without opposition.

During all those years I have unanimously been reëlected Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and of the Elections Committee; and I have been sent to Geneva to represent Norway at the League of Nations since 1926.

These facts have very little to do with my personality; they are expressive of the important fact that in Norway—that is, among responsible people—foreign policy is considered a national affair as distinct from party politics. No small nation can afford to have its foreign relations made a matter of factious controversy. We have also felt that there ought to be the fullest possible continuity in our foreign policy. These facts also illustrate the tendency mentioned before, to coöperate between party and party, instead of fighting.

They also illustrate two things more: First, that in spite of any party dissensions there was a strong feeling of national unity in our Storting.

And second, that my support of the Nygaardsvold Government—matter-of-course and perfectly natural as it is, and such a support under the circumstances being the obvious and simple duty of every member of Parliament—has no party background, but a national one.

## CHAPTER VI

### GOING NORTH

NOT until April 26th did the Government of the Reich announce that Germany was at war with Norway. No note was sent: the announcement was made over the radio. The Norwegian Government answered in a statement of April 28th:

The Norwegian Government has learned over the radio that on April 26th the German Government announced that the Reich is at war with Norway.

The Norwegian Government has been aware of this state of war since the night of April 9th when the Reich without any declaration of war launched an attack on Norway—an attack which must have been prepared a considerable time beforehand as German armed forces could invade simultaneously so many points of Norwegian territory from Oslo to Narvik.

As this assault was effected in violation of international law, without Norway's having in the slightest degree occasioned such aggression, so the German forces in Norway have carried on the war regardless of every rule of international law. German bombers

have especially laid waste defenseless country districts and towns which neither were in any way armed nor could be held legitimate military objectives for any other reason.

The Government of the Reich has issued denials of the reports that it let its forces shoot civilians who did not fight in the war, but the Norwegian Government has personally witnessed such violence and knows that it can not be denied.

The Norwegian Government has already learned that even if the Government of the Reich now announces that it is at war with Norway it will not, for that reason, from now on observe the rules of international law. Norway must continue to expect to be exposed to what the Government of the Reich itself in its memorandum of April 9th termed "the most terrifying aspects of war."

The people of Norway have not been daunted by bombing and violence. The people of Norway appreciate their independence so highly that they will rather suffer the war than surrender to German tyranny.

The Reich has created this state of war with Norway. Norway did not want a war and was not bearing arms against anybody.

But the people of Norway met the war in a firm determination to defend their independence, and it is the duty of the Norwegian Government to carry on the fight for the people.

The announcement that the Reich is at war with

Norway makes no difference to us. The war goes on, now as before, and the war shall continue until the aggressors are driven out of the country, and Norway is free once more.

The Norwegian Government extends its thanks to the British, French, and Polish Governments who are helping Norway in this war. All these Governments are united to carry on, fighting a rule of violence which is an outrage of international law and will crush every small nation.

The Norwegian Government is confident that the ideas of justice and liberty will gain the final victory. It knows that the powers of injustice and brutality can greatly damage the country. But it knows as surely that the people of Norway will not for that reason give up the liberty which our constitution of 1814 has made a cornerstone of Norway.

The Norwegian Government is not saying anything new when it announces:

“The fight for our independence will continue.”

And the fight continued. But the difficulties facing the Norwegian Government were almost overwhelming. With the whole machinery of administration broken down, with the most insufficient channels of publicity and communication, not only did the Government have to keep all the governmental wheels turning, but it had to improvise new state organs and take far-reaching

measures under the constant drone of German bombers and rattling of machine guns.

The statement of April 28th is the first official document mentioning Allied aid to Norway. Such aid had not been officially requested, but immediately after the invasion of Norway, the British and French Governments spontaneously pledged themselves to help Norway and not to rest until Norwegian territory was once more free. The Norwegian Government then asked that expeditionary forces come immediately.

On April 18th British troops were landed at Aandalsnes, British and French at Namsos north of Trondheim, and British, French, and Polish troops above Narvik in the north of Norway.

The first British troops came by rail from Aandalsnes to Lillehammer on the evening of April 19th. But the British expeditionary force had no anti-aircraft or anti-tank guns, and the troops were not accompanied by airplanes. It was impossible to hold the positions in Gudbrandsdal without aircraft, and on April 24th a small number of Gladiators came across. But the aviators were not accustomed to having frozen lakes as their base, and a number of the machines were bombed on the ice.

On April 28th, it was announced in the House of Commons that the British were going to evac-



*Norwegian and British comrades after the Allied forces had come in contact with the Norwegians.*



uate southern Norway. Under the circumstances that decision meant that the Norwegian Government would also have to leave southern Norway in order not to be at the mercy of the Germans. On May 1st the Commander-in-Chief of the Norwegians, General Ruge, had to announce that General Headquarters would be transferred to the north of Norway.

The Government had been moving from one place to another; and during these weeks of distress, when any Cabinet meeting might be the last one, when the bombs were dropping and every member of the Cabinet was in constant danger of his life, the Government had to formulate and issue all the ordinances and Orders in Council necessitated by the state of war. A special war-police had to be instituted; rules had to be given for a partial and provisional moratorium, for the organization of a home defense force against enemy aircraft and parachutists, for every kind of protection for the civilian population, for the establishment of prize courts, for expropriation of ground and property when necessary to protect the civilian population against air-attacks—to mention only a few things.

After the Allied forces had arrived in Norway it became necessary to make rules legalizing British and French currency as payment for goods

bought in Norway and to fix the rates of exchange; this was done on April 26th. The rate of exchange was what it had been before the German invasion—it has not been changed since. And large transfers are constantly being made.

The seat of the National Bank of Norway was transferred from Oslo to Molde; and when Molde was no longer safe, the Bank of Norway had to move to Tromsö.

And all the while care had to be taken of the gold of the Bank of Norway, the reserves so vitally important to the future of the Kingdom of Norway. How it was taken out of Oslo, how those many tons of bullion, worth more than a hundred million dollars, were carried along with the Army, in front of the Army, is a fantastic modern romance. Loaded on trucks, drawn on sledges where the condition of the roads was bad, unguarded but protected by the instincts of a whole nation, the gold and the store of banknotes came all the way through Gudbrandsdal and across to the fjords. Parts of it was taken to northern Norway on small fishing vessels; parts of it came over to England after the evacuation of Aandalsnes. What had been brought to the north of Norway had to be transferred to England when this part of the country was evacu-

ated. And then from England the gold was taken to Canada and the United States. It was carried on Norwegian ships; there was not a single soldier or marine to keep guard over it. Every member of the crew on the several boats that were entrusted with it had the same interest in getting it safely over.

The cases with the bullion were placed in barrels; all the barrels were put on deck, roped together with special floating facilities and fastened to a small yacht also placed on deck. If the ship should be torpedoed and go down the yacht and the barrels would then automatically float, and we were supposed (I came over on one of those boats) to tow the gold to a safe harbor. But none of the gold-ships was sunk.

In the meanwhile the Government went from Gudbrandsdal to Aandalsnes and on to the west coast. Aalesund and Molde were bombed, and the Government then sailed to the North of Norway.

The continuous motor-road system of Norway leading from Oslo stops at Bodö. No road so far leads from Bodö around the lonesome and rugged fjords and over the wild mountains between Bodö and Narvik. The German troops who had tried to advance north from Narvik had been driven back and were completely isolated. All

the German ships that had been sent farther north had been sunk or captured.

So the King, the Crown-Prince, and the Government decided to go far north of the polar circle, in the hope of gradually driving the Germans farther and farther south.

It was a great disillusion for the entire population that the Government had had to give up southern Norway. But in a proclamation of May 7th the King declared:

We still have strong positions in the north of Norway and with the help that is now planned we shall continue the reconquering of the country.

It is the numerical and technical superiority of the enemy on land and more especially in the air which has forced us to withdraw. We have reasons to believe that conditions will soon change.

It is not a war the Germans are carrying on in Norway; it is murder and arson. But the morale of the people is unshaken and unshakable.

I and the Government are firmly resolved to resist until the country has been liberated.

Things were not looking bad. The army in the north, the 6th Division, under command of General Fleischer, with the gallant aid of the Allies, had forced the Germans back to the town of Narvik. It seemed only a question of a few weeks before they would have to surrender.

This hopefulness was reflected in speeches delivered by the King and the Crown-Prince over the radio in Bodö on the 17th day of May, the "national day" of Norway. Both speeches are historical documents and give typical expression to national sentiments.

The King said:

I think every one will understand the sadness and sorrow filling my heart to-day as I remember the many happy times when I and my family from the balcony of the royal palace in Oslo saw the children's parade representing the joyful, happy Norway of the future.\*

When I am barred from doing this to-day it will be understood that I have an ardent desire to send my greetings to the people of Norway on this our day of liberty.

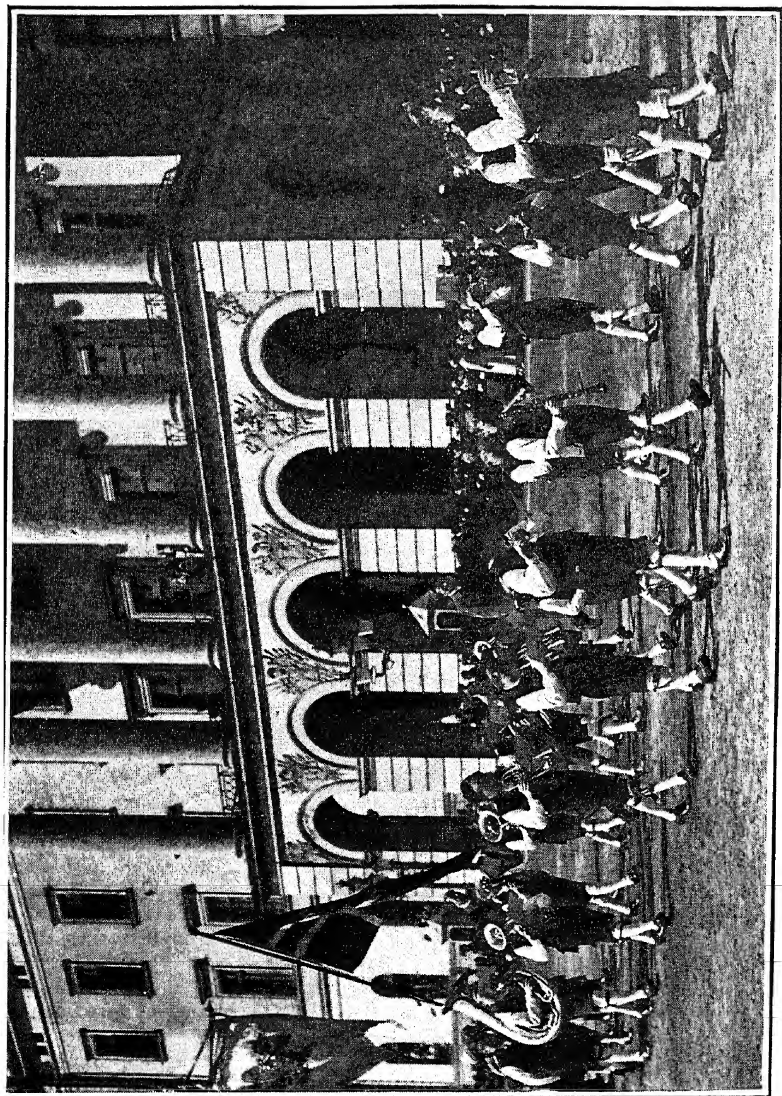
For more than a hundred years this day has united the people of Norway in the idea of liberty and the work of liberty accomplished at Eidsvold where we all promised one another to defend this our country.

At all times it has been the aim of our foreign policy to keep Norway outside any European conflict. But in spite of our absolutely neutral attitude, on the ninth of April we were assaulted by a nation

\* For many years it had been an unbroken tradition that on the seventeenth of May there was a big parade of all school-children and youth-organizations, each child carrying a small Norwegian flag. In Oslo this big procession marched by the palace where they cheered the Royal Family.

which, not knowing the meaning of personal liberty, can not understand the terrible wrong done to a small nation loving liberty. We were given the choice of surrender and subordination or trying to preserve everything we consider holy and worth living for. There was only one road to follow if we wanted to maintain our independence and self-respect as a nation. We chose to do our very utmost to defend our independence. After three weeks of heroic resistance and the sacrifice of thousands, the whole south of Norway has had to cease fighting. But still we can call the north of Norway ours. This part of the country which perhaps for years past has not been noticed as it deserved to be noticed, has given evidence during these days of the ability and dignity to represent a free and independent Norway. It is my belief that with the help of the Allies we can here reorganize our defense and so win back the liberty of the whole nation.

I thank all those who, during the past weeks, have contributed to the stopping and obstructing of the invading enemy. More especially I want to thank the Navy for exploits worthy of its best traditions, which have been gratefully acknowledged by our Allies. I thank the army for everything it has been able to achieve in spite of desperate conditions of mobilization. And I want once more to thank all those who in different ways have assisted our military services during these difficult days. Men of the telegraph and railroad services, Red Cross nurses, laborers and others



*School children parading in front of the Royal Palace in Oslo on May 17th,  
Norway's national holiday.*



who, under a rain of bombs and machine-gun bullets, have worked to keep our lines of communication in order. Last but not least, a word of greeting and thanks to the population of our towns in every district of the country for the discipline, the spirit of sacrifice and patience shown in spite of the fact that so many have seen their homes and the work of their lives ruined.

To all compatriots in occupied areas I would express the hope that they may not lose heart and that we may succeed, before too long a time shall have passed, in regaining their liberty. And I pray you not to give up believing and hoping that we shall succeed. Be convinced that for generations to come, who will rebuild the country after the destruction, it will be of decisive importance that we stake everything on preserving Norway as a free and independent country.

If we live in this conviction this period of trial may be somewhat easier.

To finish I will just quote the words: "This home-  
stead is ours and we love it for what it is, what it was,  
what it shall become some day."

God bless our dear fatherland.

The Crown-Prince said in his message:

Wergeland has said that the seventeenth of May is the most blessed of days. The anniversary of our Constitution has been to us for years and years a symbol of things we look upon as fundamental and

unperishable. Every year until to-day it has been our good fortune to celebrate the seventeenth of May in peace. The day has meant so much for every one of us. It has called to our mind the fight for freedom, the foundations laid for our national and social structure; it has pointed to the future, toward new developments and the securing of the growth of our nation.

But to-day large sections of our country are under occupation, and so the fundamentals of this work are out of function. Nay, the commemoration and celebration of the day has been forbidden.

We who are fortunate enough to stay in that part of the country which is still the free Norway are sending our warmest thoughts and greetings to the occupied areas.

To us the day is still a day of promise and hope.

We promise to-day that we shall strive with all our might to reconstruct the house of right and justice which our fathers built at Eidsvold.

Every Norwegian man and woman must give help to this work, and we hope and believe that with the help of our Allies we shall succeed in liberating our dear fatherland.

It is up to every one among us to do his duty, to persevere and not give up, hoping that Norway will rise free and independent, a nation strengthened and united and firmly resolute once more to take its place among the free nations of this world.

It was only natural that it should take some time

before the Norwegian people realized that we were at war. Our progressive peacefulness has made it no matter of course to the Norwegian people to kill or be killed. We were unsophisticated enough to believe that humanity had progressed so far that litigations between nations could be solved by other means than mass-murder and arson. Our eyes have been brutally forced open, and the outlook seems dark to many of us; but in spite of everything we will stick to the belief that the final victory will be for right and justice. This faith shall give us power to persevere until the victory is won. We want a land which is free and independent and whose liberty is not mortgaged. And if we have not this country yet, we shall win it, you and I.

Those were happy days. The Government offices and the Bank of Norway were gradually established at Tromsö. The Allied troops had become very popular. The British had established an airport at Skaanland; the Norwegians had cleared the airport at Bardufoss. And the German bombers who were swarming over the north of Norway were in awe of the British Hurricanes.

Slowly but with accelerating speed the Germans were losing ground in the north of Norway.

Provisions and supplies were coming in, the first ships carrying coal from Spitzbergen had arrived in the ports of northern Norway; sealers

were arriving from the ice-regions. There was a busy life in the harbor and the streets of Tromsö; a constant flow of young men were coming in via Finland or across the Swedish frontier. The problem was to get enough uniforms and arms.

## CHAPTER VII

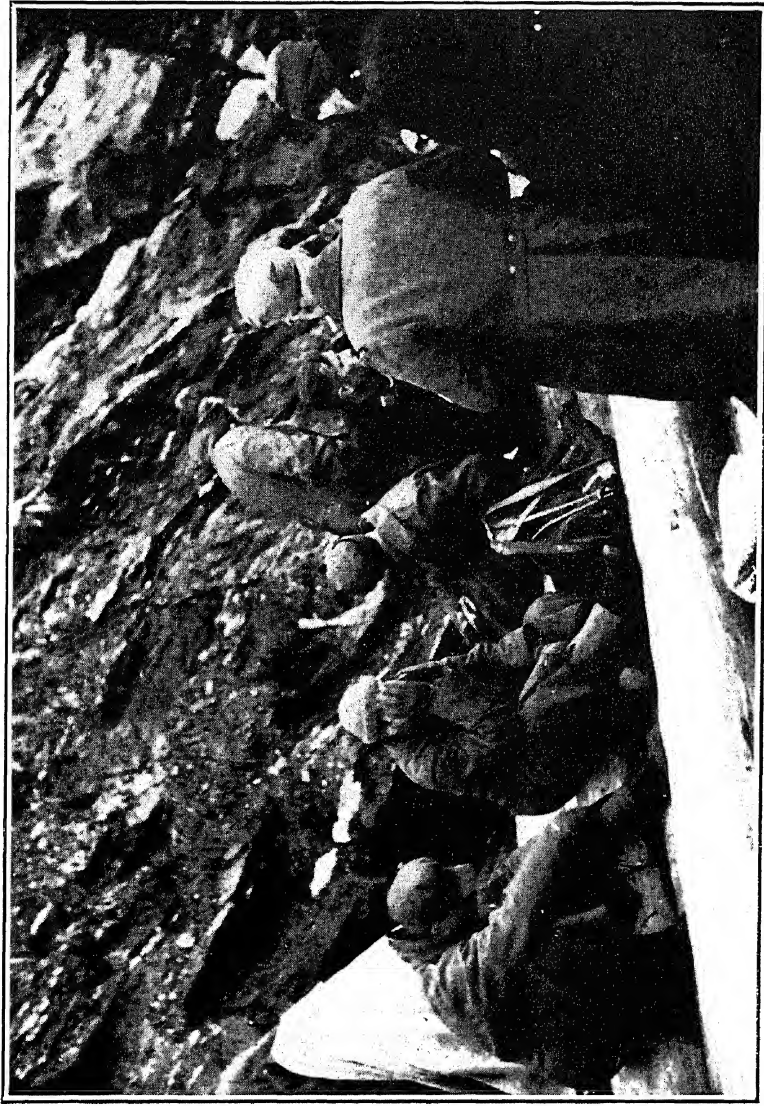
### INCIDENTS FROM STOCKHOLM

OWING to the peculiar war conditions in Norway, for more than a month the Legation in Stockholm was the center of coördination for every Norwegian effort. From Stockholm we had direct telephone communications to Oslo, to the headquarters of the retiring army, to the Norwegian Government, to the generals in the south of Norway, north of Trondheim, and in the extreme north. The Government being cut off from all telegraphic centers in Norway could communicate with the outer world only by way of the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm. And all the Norwegian Legations and Consulates all over the world could reach the Foreign Minister only through the Legation in Stockholm.

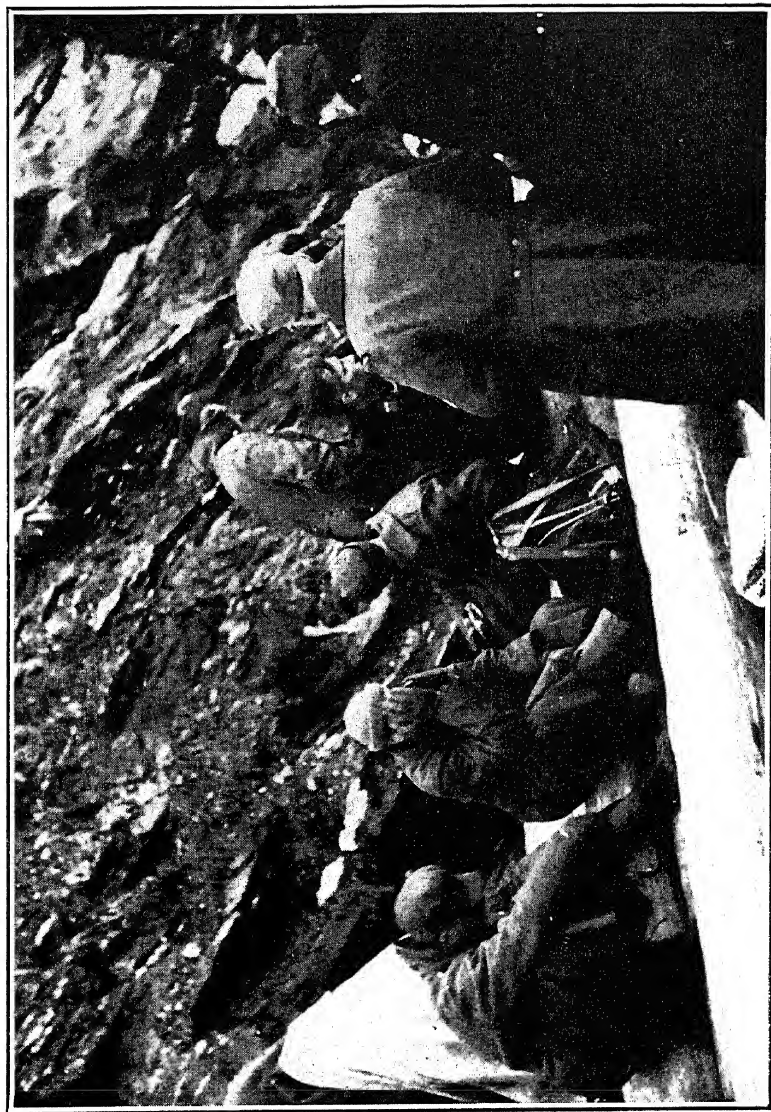
As the German invasion of Norway advanced it was getting more and more difficult to keep permanent contact with the Norwegian Government, always on the move. Important decisions had to be taken on general lines; far-reaching instructions had to be sent out to our Ministers

and Consuls; and sometimes it was impossible to consult the Government before action was taken. But thanks to unity of conviction, sentiment and instinct in all matters relating to the preservation of Norwegian independence, there was always the fullest harmony.

As the German bombing of country districts went on, and the small homesteads on hills and mountainsides were put on fire and machine-gunned, more and more refugees came across the border; there were hundreds of young men getting out of the occupied areas of Norway on their skis and demanding to be sent across the border farther north to fight the Germans. After the military events in southern Norway there were several thousand soldiers interned in Sweden. There were questions of how to finance the Legation and the whole Foreign Service, of Norwegian credits in Sweden and abroad, of Norwegian ships being built in Sweden, of Norwegian ships and sailors in Sweden. There were questions of buying all sorts of commodities in Sweden and of sending relief to starving districts in Norway, with ambulances and medical supplies. And there was the most important question of how to protect the whole merchant marine of Norway and prevent its falling into the hands of the Germans.



*German prisoners on the Narvik front hiding their faces while they are being photographed.*



*German prisoners on the Narvik front biding their faces while they are being photographed.*



The Norwegian merchant marine with about 5,000,000 tons register is the fourth in the world, ranking after the merchant marines of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan. It is the most modern, with 3,000,000 tons motorized as against 800,000 in the United States, 1,500,000 tons in Japan. One thousand inhabitants in Norway have 1,663 tons at their disposal. One thousand inhabitants in Great Britain have 446 (including the merchant marines in the Dominions); one thousand inhabitants in the United States, 79 tons. For the national finances of Norway this tonnage is a tremendous asset, and more than 85 per cent of the merchant marine was saved for Norway. All of the nearly 1,400 ships are sailing under the management of the Norwegian Trade and Shipping Mission, appointed by the Government, with head offices in London, Montreal, and New York.

The intense struggle to preserve the ships for Norway was started from Stockholm and carried on with energy and initiative by the Norwegian Legations in London and Washington. It was a fight by cable and wireless, and it could never have resulted in so triumphant a victory but for the loyalty and patriotism of shipowners, captains and sailors.

No details of how we acted can be told now,

but the skeleton enumeration given here will convey an idea of the diversified work and the multiple tasks of the representatives of Norway in Sweden during those weeks of April and May.

At no time did the Norwegian Government ask for any help or assistance from the Swedish Government—and at no time was any given.

It is not the idea here to give any account of the manifold work done by the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm, or to discuss any relative conception of neutrality. However, some of the small things that happened have a general interest, for they throw light on the whole problem of what happened in Norway and explain some aspects of the Norwegian mentality: certain things, small in themselves but having a real historic importance when they are fitted into the puzzle.

As mentioned before, Mr. Quisling had appointed a Cabinet—which did not last many days. Among the Ministers he had appointed there were only two whose names were not absolutely obscure: Major Hvoslef, called by Mr. Quisling Minister of Defense, and Mr. Jonas Lie, called Minister of Justice. Neither of them had taken any active part in politics, but the former had been known as a very active sportsman and a good patriot. The latter had several claims to

notoriety: he was the grandson and namesake of the great novelist, classed in Norway with Ibsen and Björnson; he had been a very active and successful police-officer, recently appointed Chief of the State Police, the "G-men" of Norway; he had served as an international police officer in the Saar during the plebiscite; he had served as an international police officer in Syria during the Alexandrette episode; and finally, he was known as a prolific writer (under a pseudonym) of thrilling and really very good detective stories, and had been awarded first prize for the best *roman policier* in an inter-Scandinavian competition set up by publishers in the four countries.

It so happened that both these men came to see me in Stockholm and explain their relation to Mr. Quisling. If either of them had been his follower it might have been dramatic; and even without drama it was illuminating.

On one of the first days of my stay in Stockholm three young Norwegians who had fought as volunteers in Finland came up to see me at the Legation on their way back. They were in their Finnish-Norwegian uniforms and quite excited; they told me that Major Hvoslef had been on the same train, which had arrived early that morning, and had been praising Quisling until he had been in some danger of being thrown out of the

window. Then at a station in Northern Sweden local newspapers had been bought, and they all learned that Hvoslef had been appointed Quisling's Minister of War. After that he had been very silent.

I asked the boys whether they could get Mr. Hvoslef to come and see me at the Legation. They did not think there would be any difficulty in arranging this. He had asked to meet them at eleven o'clock to continue their discussion.

When Mr. Hvoslef arrived and I started examining him he at once showed me a copy of a telegram he had sent to Mr. Quisling a couple of hours before, declaring that he would have nothing to do with the man. He had known Mr. Quisling for years, he said, but had had no idea that he was a traitor. Once, more than a year ago, Mr. Quisling had asked him whether he would be willing to join a national Government to prevent chaos. Major Hvoslef was a keen anti-Bolshevik, and he had then answered that perhaps he would. I told Mr. Hvoslef that the King had taken it very much to heart when he was reported willing to serve under Mr. Quisling. When I asked Mr. Hvoslef whether he was willing to be sent across to Norway to give his explanations to his superior officers and be court-martialed or sent out to fight, he answered that

there was nothing he wanted more. So he was sent to the border by plane, with two of our military men from the Legation. He reported to General Headquarters, cleared his name, and was sent to the front. He fought with distinction all along the eastern frontier, and when fighting in the south of Norway had to be given up, he came across to Sweden once more and went up north to fight on the Narvik front. It was his longing to be killed in action against the Germans so that he should leave no stain on his name.

A few days after Major Hvoslef's first visit to Stockholm, Mr. Jonas Lie came to see me. He had been on duty in the far north of Norway, looking after the Communists and the agents of Russia. The Commander-in-Chief in Finmarken wanted to send munitions to the small Norwegian force holding out against the Germans between Narvik and the Swedish frontier. And Jonas Lie with two of his men had brought these cases with ammunition from Finmarken across Finland and Sweden to Kiruna on the Narvik Railroad, where they were seized by the Swedish authorities, who did not permit any transit of direct military aid to Norway. From Kiruna Mr. Lie then proceeded to Stockholm.

He was perfectly furious because his name had been put on the list of Quisling's Ministers. "Of

course I have never been asked," he said. "I do not know Mr. Quisling and have never had anything to do with him. I made that statement over the Finmarken radio, but I can never reach all those who have been listening in to broadcasts not only from Oslo but also in other countries, and all the millions who have seen my name mentioned in connection with Mr. Quisling's in newspapers all over the world. What can a man do when he has been insulted in such a way? It is an irreparable injustice."

Mr. Lie had recently broken his leg while skiing in Finmarken; nevertheless he had only one desire—to join the army. He was a captain in the infantry reserve.

It was no easy thing to do. The Norwegian troops held a narrow strip along the frontier; German planes were streaming over their heads every day, and German troops held the main roads through Österdal and in the lower part of Gudbrandsdal. But Mr. Lie got across. When he had passed over from Sweden to Norway, he got one of the Norwegian pilots to fly him over the German lines and land him on a lake in the Gudbrandsdal mountains. From there he marched along and reported to General Headquarters.

The following trifling incident is typical of the way in which Mr. Quisling appointed the

members of his "Government," and of his conception of statesmanship. Mr. Quisling announced that Mr. Fredrik Prytz, another ex-major and one of his old friends, had been appointed a member of his Cabinet. Mr. Prytz, who was living on his estate in a remote part of the country, stated that he had no notion of his promotion, but that one day his cook had come into his study and said: "I hear on the radio, Sir, that you are now Minister of Finance." Then Mr. Prytz cabled and said that if his name had been given there must be some mistake.

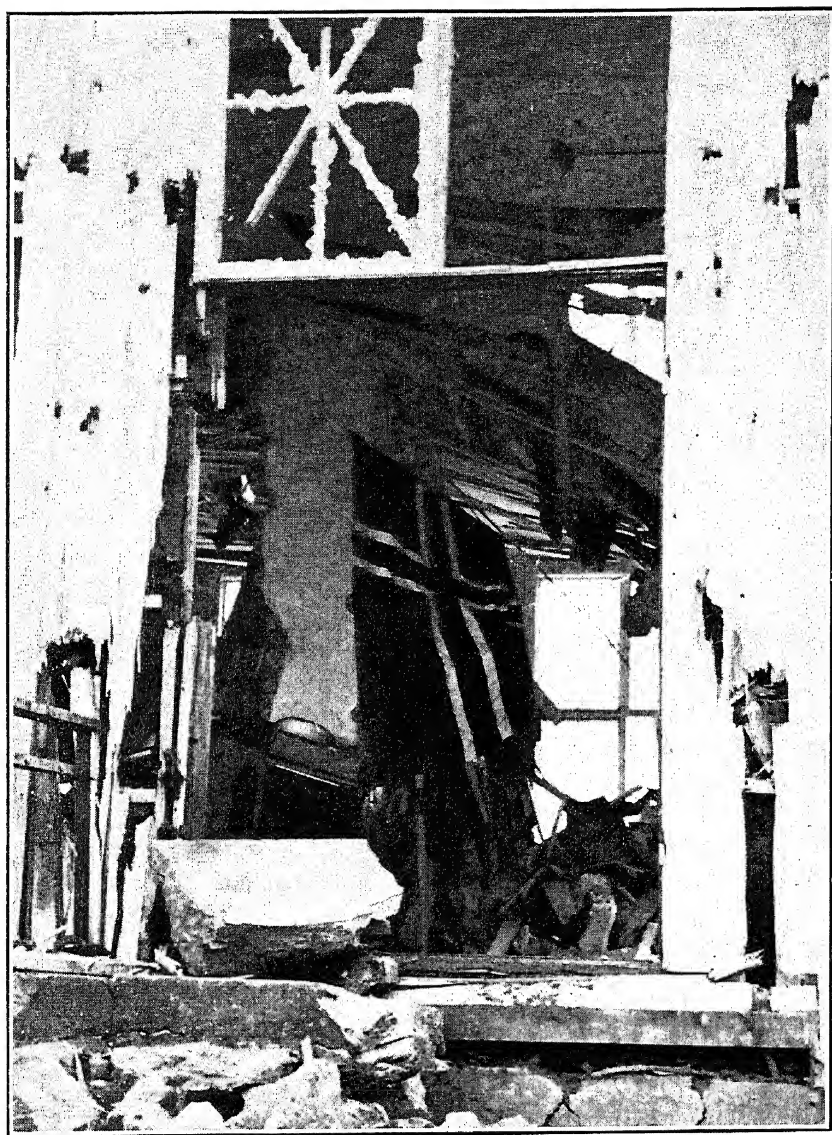
Another prominent Quisling man who came to Stockholm was Mr. G. Vedeler, who had been the great Nazi leader at Bergen. When he appeared at the Legation, he had been summoned to a conference by one of the ship-owners who was helping us; Mr. Vedeler was a shipping engineer in the employ of one of the big Norwegian shipping firms and was considered a very able professional man. I had him called in to me and explained to him that no man who had ranked high in Quisling's party could be admitted to the Legation. He pleaded that he had broken completely with Quisling in 1937. I demanded proof. After a couple of days he gave the date of the public report of his rupture with Quisling; we succeeded in finding the Norwegian newspapers

in one of the libraries of Stockholm, and he was cleared. Our Shipping Mission in London wanted his assistance, but he preferred to go to the north of Norway and fight as a private soldier.

Of course we heard in Stockholm all the bewildering rumors of treachery in Norway. They were mostly made in Sweden and spread over the world from Stockholm by agents of Germany or by foreign journalists without any knowledge of Norway or what had really happened in Norway. And the Norwegian Government had no cables at its disposal to refute the false information and counteract the deplorable impression created abroad. It was my good fortune quite often to receive exact information making it possible to prove how absolutely without foundation the rumors were which we were able to arrest on their flight.

One incident was typical. I was called up on the telephone on May 18th by an officer who had once been a member of Mr. Quisling's party. With two comrades he had come across practically the whole of Norway on foot and on ski. They had crossed the German lines a number of times and now after the evacuation of Gudbrandsdal they wanted to be sent north to join the army at Narvik.

I told him that I was awfully glad to hear



*A ruined house in Narvik. The inhabitants hoisted the Norwegian flag before they left.*



from him. I had just learned from "fully reliable sources" that he had been shot as a traitor in Österdal. To say that he was furious is to put it mildly; yet we could not help laughing.

Two days later we were to go on the same train through Sweden and Finland to the north of Norway. The last time I met him in Norway he exclaimed: "Could anything more perfect be imagined than shooting Germans in the full beauty of the midnight sun!"

Every day in Stockholm we had the fullest opportunity of witnessing how the youth of Norway was longing to fight. It was almost heartbreaking to listen to all the fine young men—workmen, students, business men, sailors—who demanded uniforms, arms and munitions—and to be unable to help them. We were not allowed to buy any uniforms, ammunition, or arms in Sweden, and we could not send them across the frontier without arms.

In a very few individual cases we were able to give some help. Some young men came to see me who had escaped from the internment camps, having marched on foot hundreds of miles, sometimes in very bad shoes and practically without money. As often as not they were resentful, they were angry because there were so many difficulties and obstacles before they could get to the

front again; and I was more than glad when I could procure some equipment—and the necessary papers—and get them over to Norway.

The common men and women in Sweden wanted to help Norway and any Norwegian. And there are friends in Sweden whose names will be held in veneration in Norway. But their Government was in a very difficult position and was strongly convinced—as most governments are—that charity begins at home. There were more things than ammunition and uniforms we wanted to buy, but it was very difficult to get any export license. When the German troops had taken grain and potatoes out of Norway and northern Norway was in desperate need of seed-potatoes, we could not get them in Sweden. But our friends in Finland who had been suffering from lack of nearly everything after the war with Russia started a national subscription of seed-potatoes and gave them to northern Norway.

Three days before I left Stockholm to go north and join the King and the Government in Tromsö, we celebrated our national day, the seventeenth of May, very quietly in Stockholm. There was no official demonstration of any kind. But those who were present in Kungsholm church in the afternoon—among them the

American Minister to Oslo, Mrs. Harriman, that staunch friend of Norway—are not likely to forget it. The big church was crowded; the impressive words of the rector, Dr. Krook, former chaplain to the Swedish congregation in Oslo; the sermon of Rev. Schübeler, who had come across the border from Oslo to make his way to the front and work among the soldiers; the music—all went to melt the hearts; and when a great Norwegian flag was carried up the aisle with Swedish students as a guard of honor, and placed before the altar, many who had not wept for years felt the tears trickling down their cheeks. In the evening my daughter and son-in-law had gathered some sixty Norwegians quite informally in their home, for no more official celebration was wanted in Stockholm. Among those who came was Fredrik Paasche, professor of German Literature at the University of Oslo. He had arrived the day before. He had been through all the bombing in Gudbrandsdal, Aandalsnes, and Molde with his wife and Sigrid Undset, the great writer. They had then proceeded by fishing-boat to Bodö and on to Mo in Rana. From there they had come on skis across to Sweden. Mrs. Undset had learned that day that her son had been killed in action in Norway, so she did not want to see many people. But Mr. Paasche told the story of

their journey, of the dignified determination of the farmers and fishermen, of their talks in the long nights coming up the coast. When he came across the border he was met with the greatest sympathy by his Swedish friends. Mr. Paasche and his family were asked whether they were not terribly downcast after all the dark days they had lived through in Norway. And Professor Paasche answered: "We had only one dark day in Norway. It was the day when it was reported in the press that the Norwegian Government was willing to negotiate with the Germans. But fortunately it was not true!"

## CHAPTER VIII

### IN THE GLOW OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN

THOSE who have never lived under the midnight sun will hardly be able to understand the peculiar quality of life in the north of Norway during those five marvelous, unforgettable, and totally unreal weeks of victorious resistance, when the land north of the polar circle was the whole free Norway.

Not that the sun was shining every midnight; there was snow and rain and fog—and that prevented bombing, so that those nights were also blessed. But looking back I think all of us sense the midnight sun, see and feel and live over again the pathetic beauty, the fairy-tale glory of the northern spring-time and early summer. No place on earth has the same grandeur of scenery: the Arctic Sea under the luminous midnight sun—a panorama without limits or borders—and the air so clear that your eye can span the enormous distances. Nothing on earth can equal the fragrance of the “white nights,” the aroma of the flowers that open their calices day and night

in the short and hectic summer. And in this dream of beauty, the drone of bombers, the reports of guns, detonations and explosions, the constant danger of being exterminated, and the constant cheerfulness, the matter-of-fact coolness, the marvelous kindness and hospitality of a population considered the poorest in Norway.

Tromsö soon became the natural center. At Tromsö were established the Government Offices, the headquarters of the naval defense, of the Bank of Norway, of the national broadcasting. At Tromsö were established the British, French, Polish, Danish, and Swedish Legations. Couriers came and went. Ships arrived and departed. Airplanes swirled over our heads. And day and night the whole population was listening in to the national broadcasting—and to London and to the French and Swedish stations; on board every fisherboat, in the smallest hut on the tiniest island, there was always a radio. At eight o'clock every morning the program started with "A fortress firm is our Lord," or "Kirken den er et gammelt hus"—"The Church is an old house"—and every midnight it ended with "Ja vi elsker," the national anthem.

Three broadcasting stations were at the disposal of the Government: Finmarken radio at



*King Haakon and Crown-Prince Olav outside the Bishop's house at Tromsø.*



Vadsö, Tromsö radio, and Bodö radio. Quite often one of the three stations went off the air: the Germans were incessantly trying to bomb them and at last succeeded in destroying Bodö radio. Vadsö was bombed a number of times but was always started again. And in no part of Norway is broadcasting of greater importance. The districts are sparsely populated: in the province of Finmark only 2.3 per square mile, in the province of Tromsö 8.45, in the province of Norland 11.7; and distances are tremendous. Our main line of communication was by way of Stockholm. Now from Tromsö to Kirkenes is forty-eight hours by steamer, and on a very rough sea. From Kirkenes to Rovaniemi in Finland is 350 miles by car, and from Rovaniemi to Stockholm twenty-four hours by train.

At the opening of the war in the Narvik area the Germans had made a great effort to gain control of the road-system leading north and east. They had made a blitz-advance on Gratangen and were in hopes of capturing Bardu where there is a military training camp and an airport. But the troops of General Fleischer soon forced them to withdraw, and when he was reinforced by British, French, and Polish troops his advance was accelerated. The Germans fought well; they were supported by great numbers of airplanes;

they were reinforced by air constantly; but when the ice started thawing on the lakes, air transport became more complicated. Both troops and provisions were dropped in parachutes. But finally the British succeeded in building an airport at Skaanland, and their Hurricanes and their pilots scared the Germans.

The German troops were driven back to the town of Narvik. Narvik was recaptured on May 29th, completely ruined by the invaders; the German troops retired along the railroad to Sweden and were only three miles from the border, when the Allied troops evacuated and it became impossible to fight on.

On May 23rd King Haakon addressed the Army of the North in the following terms:

I send my greetings to every officer and man in the Norwegian Army in the north of Norway and to the Allies who are to-day united with us here in the far north to defend law and justice in the world and the right of the people of Norway to live and to rule in this country, united in a national state for more than a thousand years.

I thank every officer and man of the 6th Division and the units from the south of Norway who have come to their aid.

You are fighting for what we have called the land of the thousand homes, and I know that every one

of you will fight to regain our liberty and maintain it peacefully with everything we hold dear.

Many of our thousand homes have been wrecked and ruined during this war, and besides fighting for what is still ours we shall also strive to build anew all that has been destroyed.

While we are defending our country the fight goes on for aims which are the aims of all humanity, the fight to maintain the right of nations to live in liberty and independence. It has to be said for the nations fighting for the same things which we hold dear—the same ideals and the same rights.

I greet and thank the British forces both of the Army and of the Royal Air Force for their valuable assistance which has made it possible for us to defend this part of the country which we can still call our own.

I render homage to the nations of the British empire for what they have been doing for us, these nations which are so nearly akin to us through their democratic sentiments and in so many other ways.

I greet our French comrades-at-arms as representatives of a nation that gave to us so much when we framed our constitution and whose love for independence and freedom in so many ways harmonizes with our own and with the instincts and convictions of the Norwegian people. I express my admiration for their temerity and courage which to-day is on a level with the finest traditions of the French army.

And brave Polish troops are fighting at our side for

a joint cause. Poland has experienced what it means to lose liberty and independence. Like us, the Poles are fighting for the victory of right and justice.

I thank you that you have come to our aid. May also Poland regain its liberty in the near future.

I know that even volunteers from other countries are fighting in our ranks. I want to express to them our appreciation of the idealism which has led them to join us. Many nations are fighting here, and this gives evidence of the power of the ideas we are fighting for and inspires us with hope for the final victory of our cause.

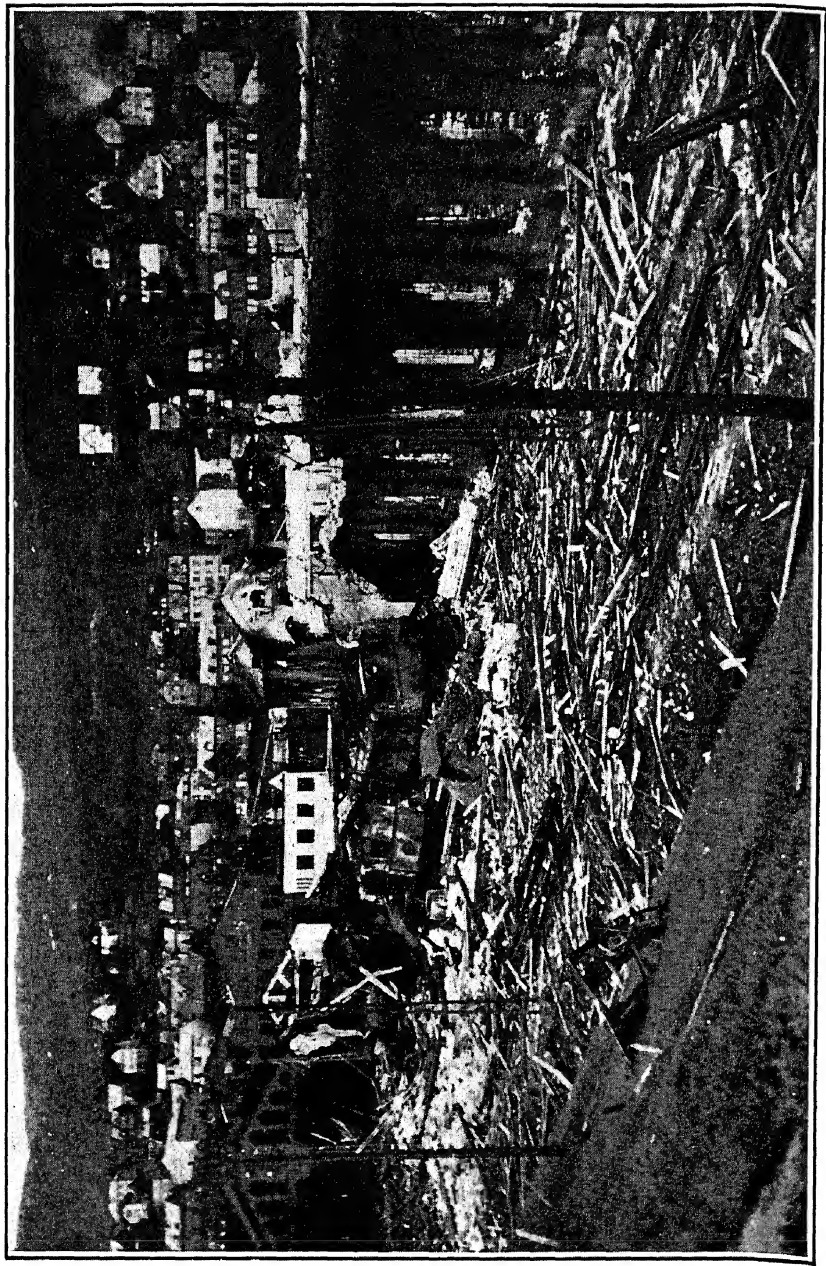
Our enemies can hardly understand the crime they have committed against us and the other victims of their aggression. They can not have realized; they can have no notion of what it means to have our liberty; that it means literally everything to us and that life without liberty holds no meaning for us.

I hope that some day even the German people may be liberated from its misconceptions.

Comrades-at-arms of all nations fighting at the front in northern Norway:

Continue to be stubborn in fight and strong in your conviction that the final victory will be for the good cause.

The King and the Crown-Prince did not stay at Tromsø; they lived in a small bungalow at a distance of some fifty miles from the town. And



*Ruins of the station yard in Narvik showing the powerful electric locomotives used for the transportation of iron ore.*



General Headquarters was established quite near the place where the King resided with his staff. Experience from Nybergsund, Elverum, and Gudbrandsdal had taught a lesson on the danger of too many valuable lives being at stake on the same spot.

The King and the Crown-Prince, of course, came to Tromsö quite often; but as a rule the Cabinet meetings were held at the big creamery at Storsteinness. There the dairyman in charge and his wife always gave all those who attended a wonderful meal of fresh milk and sour milk and buttermilk and waffles and made us all feel their very dear friends and guests. (At the first meeting in Storsteinness, which I was invited to attend, I refunded the Crown-Prince the 200 kroner which he had provided for my mission to Sweden.)

Nothing is like the helpfulness and the hospitality of the population in the north of Norway. The sums of money which were collected, the quantities of clothes which were given to the refugees and to the families of the soldiers, were impressive, were touching and overwhelming. When women and children were evacuated from the small towns and parish-centers, every little home along the fjords and on the island was open to them. People were happy, they were

proud to represent the whole of Norway. They were willing to fight and to sacrifice.

Then we were informed very secretly that the Allied forces had been ordered to evacuate. We had all followed over the radio what had happened in Flanders; we had had our misgivings and fears; and later, in the light of what happened in France during the following weeks, we fully understood that the French Government needed every available fighting unit; and the men of the Foreign Legion and the Chasseurs Alpins were excellent troops. But it was a day of frustrated hopes when we were warned of the evacuation.

I had been invited to have lunch with the King and the Crown-Prince on that day and was not far from their place when I met them on the road. They were on their way to Tromsö to discuss the new situation with the Government. The King motioned me to get into his car, and with the Crown-Prince at the wheel we proceeded, talking things over in the car. For a couple of miles the road was wretched, cutting through enormous snow walls where an avalanche had come down. The mud was very deep, and woe to the car that slipped off the planks making passage possible; but the Crown-Prince is an excellent driver, and we arrived at Tromsö

without any mishap and drove straight up to the Bishop's big house on the hill over the city. A new bishop had just been appointed and had not yet moved into the big house; so that had been made the headquarters of the Government, with the staff of the Foreign Office, the Treasury, the Ministry of Churches and Education, and the Ministry of Public Works. We had our messroom there and usually the members of Cabinet and myself had our dinner there—at two o'clock, as is the rule in that part of the country—and quite often supper, which we managed for ourselves, for the servants left in the early afternoon.

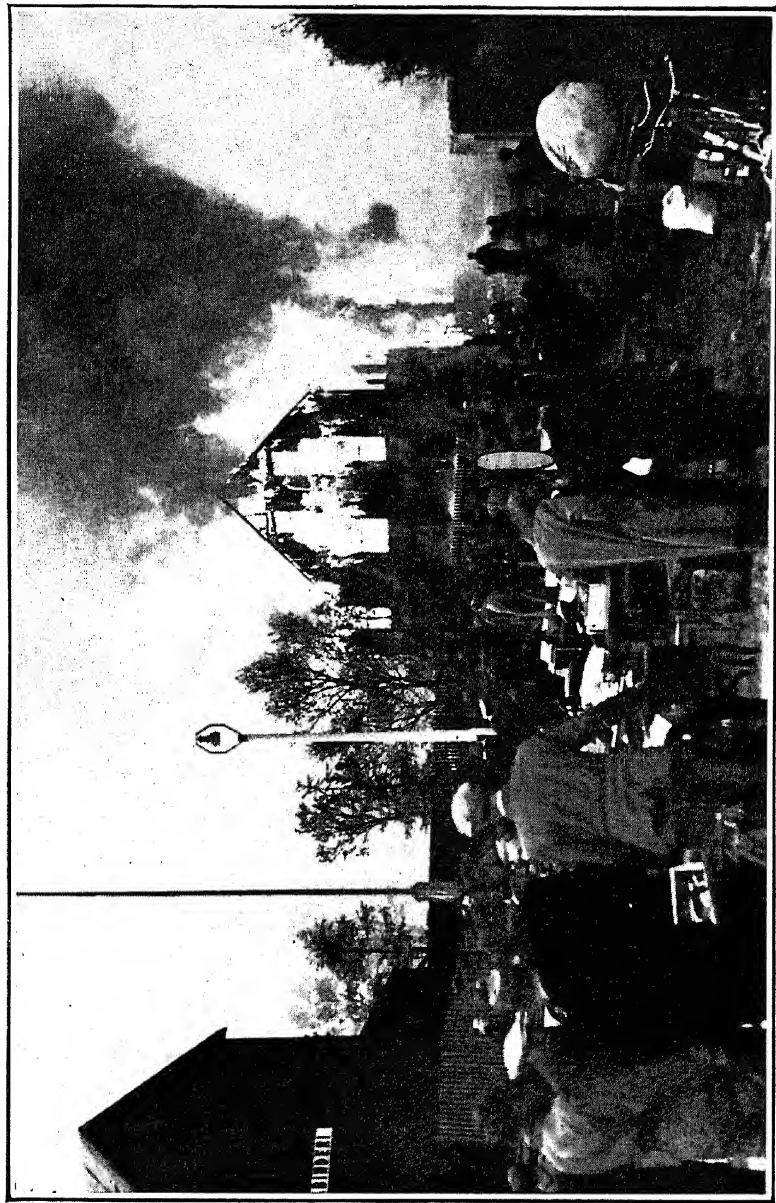
The messroom was also used for Council meetings, and on that Monday, June 3rd, the King had summoned all members of Cabinet, and General Ruge and myself, to discuss the situation with him and the Crown-Prince. Three alternatives were open: to fight on, to surrender, or to evacuate and leave Norway.

The first alternative would have appealed strongly to everybody—if it had been possible. But to fight on without any fighting planes and practically without anti-aircraft would mean to expose every center of habitation in the north of Norway to complete destruction—as Fauske had been destroyed, and Bodö and Harstad. And, moreover, we were informed that the Army had

practically no ammunition left. British and French ammunition did not fit Norwegian rifles; and the British and French had no rifles to hand over to our steadily increasing army. There was a constant stream of young men coming around the long way through Finland.

A surrender—and any possible discussion of terms with the Germans would have meant surrender—would have been a flat contradiction of the whole line of policy laid down by the Government and unanimously decided by the Storting. If our fight should be anything more than a demonstration, if it should mean anything for the future, if an independent Norway should be more than a distant dream—we had to carry on and keep the flag flying. The gold reserves of the Bank of Norway were saved; our merchant marine was out of the grip of the Germans and would be seized by the British if Norway ceased to exist as an independent state. . . . Only the third alternative was open.

I think that of all the dark days this was the hardest for King Haakon. He hated to evacuate the north of Norway; the very idea of leaving his people was abhorrent to him. But now as always the feeling of national duty and obligation was his law. His great and courageous dignity, his firmness and perseverance, his self-forgetting



*A residential district in Narvik. The Germans destroyed everything systematically as they retired.*



desire only to be of service to his people, have never seemed greater and more inspiring than in those last days in the north of Norway. The fearlessness of the King and the Crown-Prince, their quiet strength, their cheerfulness, their undaunted spirit steeled the wills of those around them and made every personal worry seem petty and irrelevant.

We discussed the arrangements to be made in Norway when we left. Somebody had to stay behind who had authority to discuss practical terms with the Germans. It was decided that the Army should be demobilized and the soldiers instructed to go to their homes in civilian clothes. Those who were willing to go across the frontier to Finland and try to come across to Iceland, England, or Canada should be encouraged to do so; all the ships serving with the Navy should go across to England and try to accommodate as many officers and men as were willing to go. But the King and the Government would not order any unit of the army to go into exile. The airplanes that were in a condition to do so should go across to the Shetlands, and the rest of them should be destroyed. One commanding officer had to stay on and be in charge. The Crown-Prince offered to stay; he did not want to leave the army; he had the feeling that even if he

should be only a prisoner, it might be of some national importance that he did not leave Norway. Weighty political arguments told against such an arrangement. With the Crown-Prince in the hands of the Germans and his young son in Sweden we could envisage a whole system of machinations staged by the Germans against Norway and the Royal Family.

General Ruge also offered to stay behind. He had been obliged to leave his army in southern Norway. He wanted to share the conditions of this other army left in Norway. But he put himself at the disposal of the Government. After an exchange of views it was decided that he should go with the King to England and take command of the new Norwegian army to be created.

But on more mature consideration and after having heard the opinions of members of his staff, the King and the Government agreed that General Ruge should stay behind and be in charge in Norway, and that General Fleischer should go to England and be commander of the Norwegian forces there.

Every preparation had to be kept strictly secret, and every discussion had to be very confidential. It was important that the planned evacuation should not be known.

At a subsequent meeting in our messroom the

King and the Crown-Prince discussed with us every detail of our plans. At the last meeting of the Council in Norway Mr. Arne Sunde, formerly Minister of Justice in Mr. Mowinckel's (Left) cabinet and Mr. Anders Fjelstad, a prominent member of the Farmers' Party, were appointed ministers without portfolio. Mr. Sunde was then in England, Mr. Fjelstad in France.

In the afternoon of June 7th—a dark and rainy day and the thirty-fifth anniversary of the severance of the union with Sweden—the King and the Government, the British, French and Polish legations, a considerable number of Norwegian officers and permanent functionaries went on board the British cruiser *Devonshire*.

Dr. Koht stayed over in Tromsö to broadcast the following day and officially tell the Norwegian people what had happened. He left Tromsö on board the *Fridtjof Nansen*, one of the thirteen ships that set out for England. On board were also General Fleischer, the Commanding Admiral Diesen, and other officers.

The proclamation issued had the following text:

The King and the Cabinet have found it necessary to move out of the country in order to continue their activity. The brutal attack of the Germans has en-

abled them to get a foothold in the country and eventually to occupy the greater part of it.

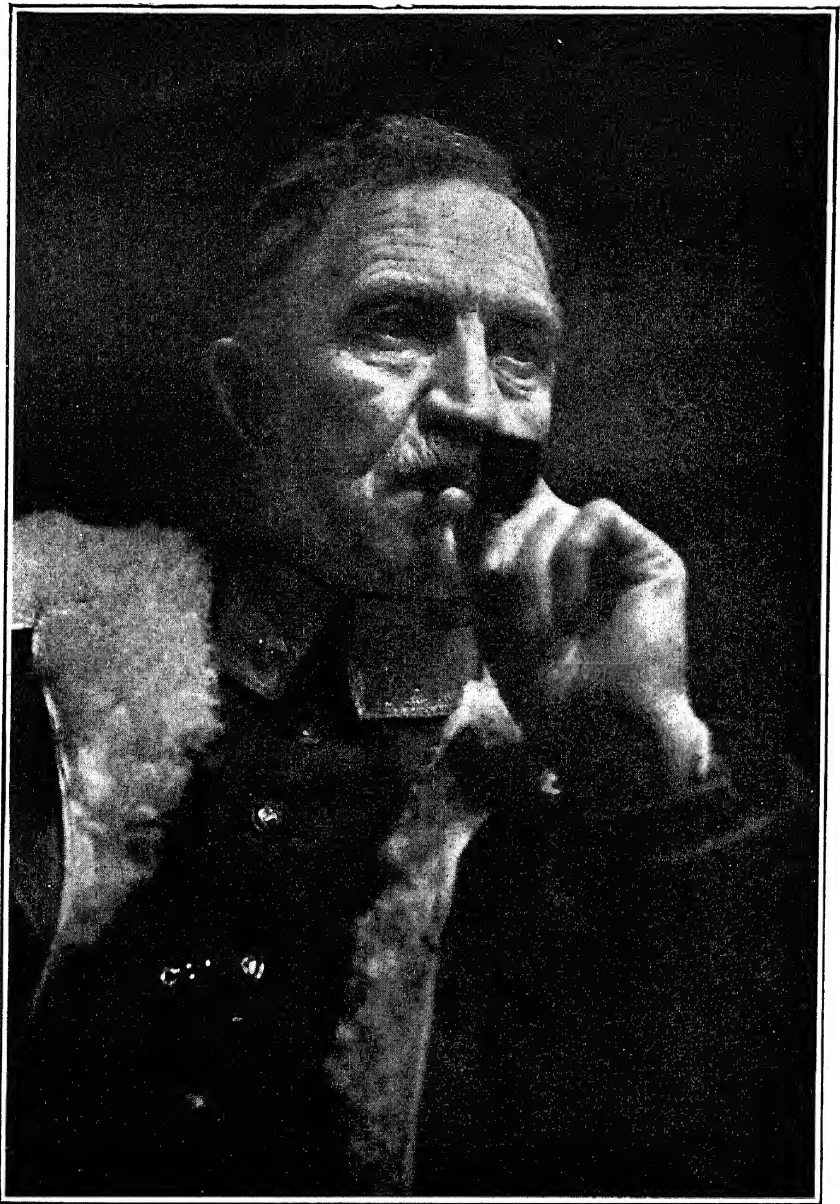
The Allied Governments, viz., the British, French and Polish Governments with whom Germany is at war, have generously helped Norway both with arms and with soldiers; and it has in this way been possible to keep one part of the country under the legally appointed Cabinet. But the hard reality of war has forced the Allies to concentrate their troops on other fronts.

It is, under these circumstances, impossible to continue the fight in Norway against an opponent as strong as Germany. Our forces of defense which for two months have put up a stanch fight are now without the necessary aircraft and ammunition and therefore unable to continue the struggle.

The High Command of the national defense has therefore advised the King and the Government to end the struggle in Norway; and they have deemed it their duty to act accordingly. And so they are leaving the country.

This, however, does not mean that they give up the fight for the liberty and independence of Norway. On the contrary, they will continue the struggle from outside the frontiers. They feel confident that the Germans will soon have to give up their prey.

The Norwegian King and Government will, in these days of struggle, be the spokesmen for the national rights of the Norwegian people. They will, as



*General Fleischer, Commander of the Norwegian Army in the north.*



far as possible, maintain Norway's independence in such a way that none of the rights appertaining to a free country shall perish.

It will be their task to protect the political and legal foundations of the country and the people in such a way that the fatherland can come forward in the hour of victory and claim its national liberty.

The President of Parliament is at one with the King and Government in this fight. The same is the case with the Commanding Officers of the Army and the Navy. And to make it clear that the Government is representative of the whole nation, irrespective of former party distinctions, the Cabinet has been strengthened by the appointment to-day of ministers of all parties.

We thank all who in these days have fulfilled their duty to the fatherland and have fought for its liberty. We counsel the Norwegian people to keep up hope and courage in the face of all oppressions and trials. We feel confident that no Norwegian will fail to help maintain our liberty.

We appeal to all: Persevere and remain faithful to our dear fatherland.

We who issue this appeal at this moment are forced to leave the soil of Norway; we are determined to risk our lives and give all we have, everything in our ability and possession, for Norway.

It is our belief that we will soon be able to return to a free and independent Norway, and we hope to be

able to do it with honor. The thought that will help us in our decisions in a foreign country, the thought that we know we share with every one at home, can be expressed in these words:

Live for Norway! All for Norway!

## CHAPTER IX

### THE WAR IN NORWAY: THE NAVAL DEFENSE

THIS is not a story of the sixty days' war in Norway. Indeed, such a history can not yet be written; and when some day all the reports are at hand and a free press is once more established in Norway, it will not be the history of a regular campaign that will be published, but of a number of small units fighting desperately in various parts of the country without communication between unit and unit and without knowing in one locality what was happening in other localities.

In this isolation, in this cutting off of ordinary means of communication—radio and newspapers—is to be found the explanation of those wild rumors of treachery that sprang up mainly in Oslo and Stockholm. They were widely circulated by all the agents of Germany, and unwittingly given a world-wide publicity by journalists who had no real news to send to their papers and so sent on whatever copy was handed them.

When a country is assaulted without warning of any kind, without any intimation that it is in real danger, and when such a country is very peaceful and not in any state of mobilization, considerable confusion will unavoidably result. In this confusion the aggressor will have his best ally. Out of the confusion legendary tales will grow, and there will be bewilderment in men's minds.

That is what happened in Norway in the first days after the invasion.

Chronologically, it was the Navy that had to meet the first violent German attack. Next the Air Force came into action, and last and with much greater difficulty, the Army.

We have to bear in mind certain important facts when we try to understand how the success of the German surprise attack on Norway was possible.

The policy of the Norwegian Government, supported in this respect by a unanimous Parliament, was 'to maintain the neutrality of the country and keep Norway out of the war. To this end it was necessary for the Government to play its hand openly and act in good faith to both belligerent parties. There were constant difficulties and frictions, but at last, in the month of March, what was in reality a trilateral com-

mercial arrangement had been made. That means that the English knew and accepted the quotas of export to Germany, and the Germans knew and understood the terms we had made with England.

It was part of this arrangement—and part of the treaty England had made with Sweden—that Germany should get certain quantities of iron ore from Sweden by way of Narvik. It was part of the arrangement that Germany should buy 30,000 tons of fish in Norway. Now in Norway there were no big boats with the necessary refrigerating equipment to carry such quantities of fresh fish to Germany. So there was nothing very surprising in the fact that a considerable number of German ships came up the coast of Norway at the end of March and in the first days of April. The Germans explained that it was necessary for them to have a double shift of men to load the boats at Narvik: time was very valuable and they feared that the export might be stopped.

And the crews of the German ships lying in the ports of Bergen and Trondheim were armed and ready to assist the troops when the signal was given.

The big German whaling factory, *Jan Willem*, came in from the Arctic under the American

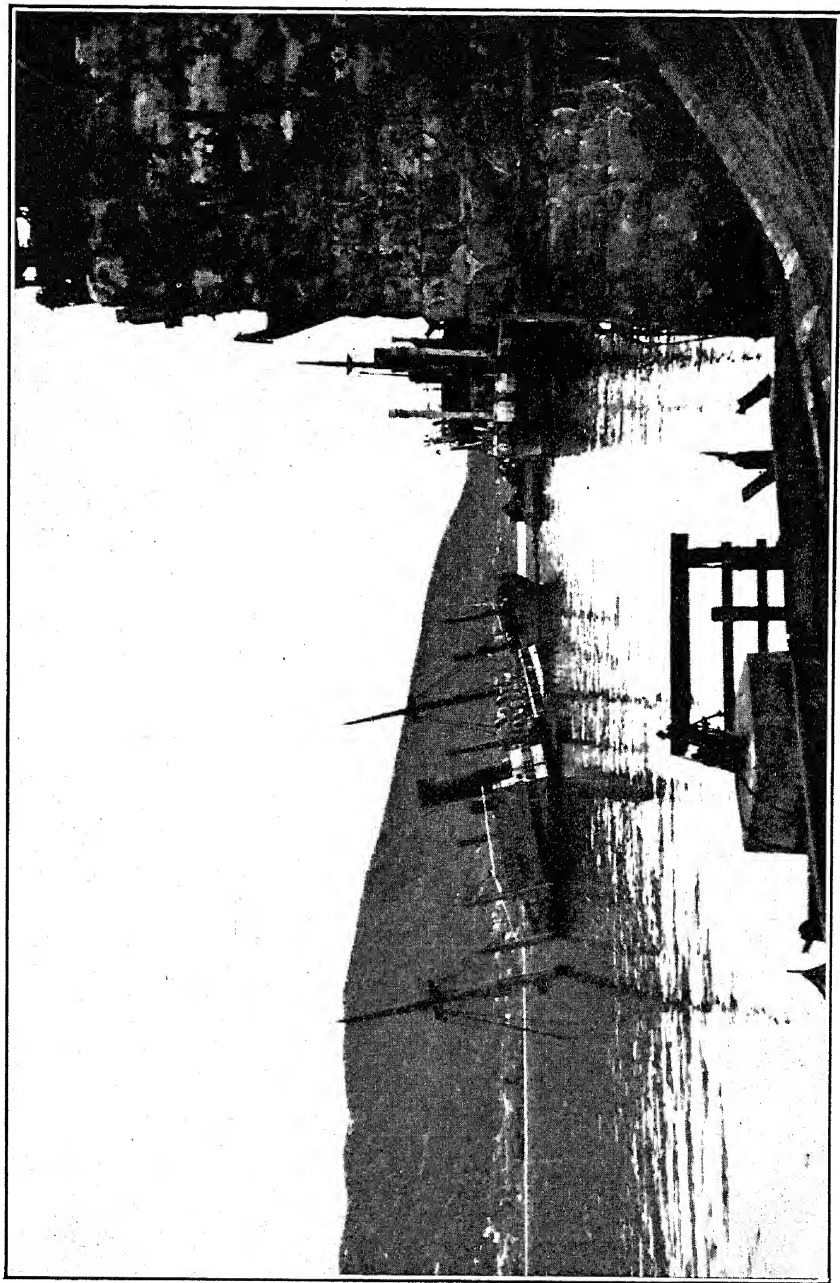
flag and with American nationality marks. It took pilot at Agdenes and was taken to Narvik by a Norwegian pilot. But the cargo was not whale oil but munitions and troops under the command of General Dietl, appointed Commander-in-Chief at Narvik.

A number of Germans—agents to buy fish, commercial travelers, vice-consuls and attachés—had been planted in every Norwegian town.

The attack on Norway had been planned for months and years down to the most minute details; and it was very accurately timed.

The German explanation that the attack on Norway came as a consequence of England's laying mines in Norwegian territorial waters is not only ridiculous, but evidence of the most supreme contempt for logical reasoning and common sense. All the German ships had taken their cargoes on board and most of them had left German ports at least a week before the British mines were laid. And before the ships left Germany, weeks of preparation had been necessary.

It is deplorable that the Norwegians were unsuspecting, that they did not know what was coming. But then: who knew? Had the intelligence service of any country had the opportunity of giving warning to its government? And in the light of what has happened since April 9th,



*Sunken freighters in Narvik harbor. To the right is the "Jan Willem," the German freighter which arrived in the harbor before the invasion with German soldiers hidden on board.*



can anybody wonder that Norway was taken by surprise?

And even if this is not in any way a history of the war waged in Norway, to understand political developments in the country and also to have a fair idea of the way in which the people of Norway reacted, it is of importance to know the main facts of the two months' fight.

#### THE NAVAL DEFENSE

This chapter does not pretend to be an exhaustive history of the first phase of the naval war between Norway and Germany (the last phase is yet to come). The necessary documentation is not at hand; many things are yet obscure and many incidents not known. And even if all available material had been at the disposal of the present author, he has not the military or naval competence to make the historical maritime picture in any way satisfactory or instructive to the expert. But to convey the general idea of what happened in Norway and the repercussion of events on public opinion in the country, it is necessary to give a broad outline of the gallant resistance of the small Norwegian Navy to the overwhelming force of the invader. This outline is based mainly on official (or unofficial, but signed) reports from naval officers, supple-

mented by information published in the press and verbal explanations given to the author.

The naval defense (the Navy proper and the coastal fortifications) had been mobilized since the beginning of the European war (September, 1939); but the mine-belts, an important part of the national defense, had not been established.\* However, it must be borne in mind that the Norwegian Navy was not even a fleet in being, but only a fleet in embryo. There were some old ships, good enough in their own day, but even then intended only for coastal defense, and a number of smaller craft, some of them quite new, but not a single modern artillery ship.

A certain jealousy and rivalry between Army and Navy, familiar in so many countries, were not unknown in Norway. The question of modernizing the Navy had become a party issue, and butter having been for a long time more popular in Norway than guns, the Navy had been tragically neglected in spite of the vital importance of having modern naval defense. A plan for the building of a number of new destroyers had been

\* The story widely circulated in America that "electrically controlled mines guarding the inner harbor of Oslo were put out of action by a highly placed Norwegian traitor" has no word of truth in it. There were no mines; and at no time was it planned that mines should be anywhere near Oslo. The mines at one time planned for the outer defense of the fjord, at a distance of some forty-five miles from Oslo, had not been laid.

approved by the Storting, but so far only two of them had been completed. A number of motor torpedo boats had been ordered from England, but they had not yet been delivered. And not a single ship carried anti-aircraft guns.

The German attack on the night of April 9th came as a complete surprise. No kind of diplomatic warning had been given. And the whole German plan was so brazenly bold that it could hardly have been foreseen by those who had not scientifically studied gangster mentality on a national scale.

The night was very dark, the visibility extremely bad, and when the first foreign ships were sighted off the mouth of the Oslofjord—and south of Bergen and off Agdenes—nobody knew their nationality. Norway was not at war; Norway had no official enemies. Why did these ships come? Were they coming to aid Norway or to attack? Were they British, French, or German? These are the questions which every naval commander had to put to himself that night. And he had no specific instructions or forewarnings from his Government to guide him. Now, under international law, any warship has the right of "innocent passage" through the territorial waters of any country. But there are also in most countries protected areas where no for-

eign men-of-war are allowed. Along the coast of Norway there were four such areas, covering: 1. the Oslofjord, naval headquarters at Horten, 2. Kristiansand, 3. Bergen, and 4. the Trondheimsfjord, protected by the ancient fortress at Agdenes.

Hundreds of small craft were patrolling the coast of Norway to safeguard its neutrality, warning off English men-of-war, German men-of-war, English, German, and Russian airplanes, and so on.

So, in this first phase of the naval war, there are no great and central battles. There are four main chapters: the attacks of the four protected port areas. And there are, moreover, the individual short stories of every craft and every officer fighting the Germans along the coast.

### I. THE OSLOFJORD

When the first report of foreign ships came in at Horten, the commander of the first naval district dispatched a small boat to ascertain the nationality of the ships. The head naval station proper is at Karljohansvern, but a great many of the military establishments are at the neighboring town, Horten, although Horten has no fortifications; it is an open town. What are called the Outer Fortifications of the Oslofjord

are situated at Bolaerne and Rauer, at a considerable distance from Horten. The inner fortifications are at Oscarsborg, the old fortress which has not been modernized in recent years. The foreign ships had passed the fortifications at Bolaerne at full speed. The batteries had fired—the Oslofjord north of a line Tönsberg Tönne-Faerder is protected military area where no foreign men-of-war are allowed to pass. The ships had not opened fire, only sped along in the black night. The naval officer sent out by the Admiral at Horten met the squadron going up the fjord. When he put his flashlight on them, he was blinded by their powerful reflectors; but he made certain that the ships were German and signaled home.

The first Norwegian ship to open fire was a small whale-boat with one gun. Captain Wielsing-Olsen of the naval reserve ordered the German ships to stop, and when this order was disregarded he attacked the big cruisers with his one gun and was shelled to silence. Both legs were shot under him, but he rolled himself overboard in order not to be taken prisoner by the Germans.

Four big German ships and a great number of minor craft steamed north in the direction of Oslo. The *Emden* with a squadron of destroyers

of the *Möwe* class and a number of great minesweepers were sent to attack the naval station at Horten. At Horten lay *Olav Trygvason* (1,600 tons), completed in 1934, with four 4.7-inch guns and one 3-inch gun, and the old coastal-defense ship *Tordenskjold* (3,900 tons), completed in 1898. *Tordenskjold* was being used as a training ship and had no fighting value on April 9th. A new batch of raw recruits had been installed on board the previous day. The crew had had no practice; they had not yet been introduced to the guns or taken the first steps of their military education. The Commanding Officer marched his 250 men ashore to join the land forces and have them properly armed from the depots. (This decision was later widely circulated by the Germans and their friends in the Swedish press as a proof of "treachery" and German sympathies in the Royal Norwegian Navy.) The *Olav Trygvason* was moored to the buoys at the mouth of the harbor and under the command of Captain Briseid. When the German squadron came under his guns he opened fire at once. Two German minesweepers transporting troops were sunk in the harbor, one destroyer of the *Möwe* class put out of action, and the *Emden* severely damaged. On the other hand the *Olav Trygvason* had only a very small number of casualties. But

German bombers were circling over Horten, and the Norwegian Admiral was presented with an ultimatum: either he must surrender the naval station with the ships, or Horten and Karljohansvern and the neighboring district would be bombed out of existence, with no consideration shown the civilian population. After a consultation with Headquarters at Oslo the Admiral surrendered.

In the meantime, heavy fighting had been going on in the Oslofjord. The fortress of Oscarsborg and the torpedo battery did not open fire until the German ships were very close. And every shell and every torpedo was a full hit. The greatest German ship, the *Gneisenau* (26,000 tons) was hit by two torpedoes, exploding the oil tanks on board and setting the ship on fire. The captain of the ship managed to get through the narrows at Dröbak and tried to ground the ship at Digerud; but it went down in a terrible blaze of flame before it took ground, and those who tried to jump overboard were burned to death in the oil covering the surface of the sea. It was reported that some 3,000 men were on board, among them a great number of the administrative and police officers that should have taken charge of Oslo and other towns in Norway.

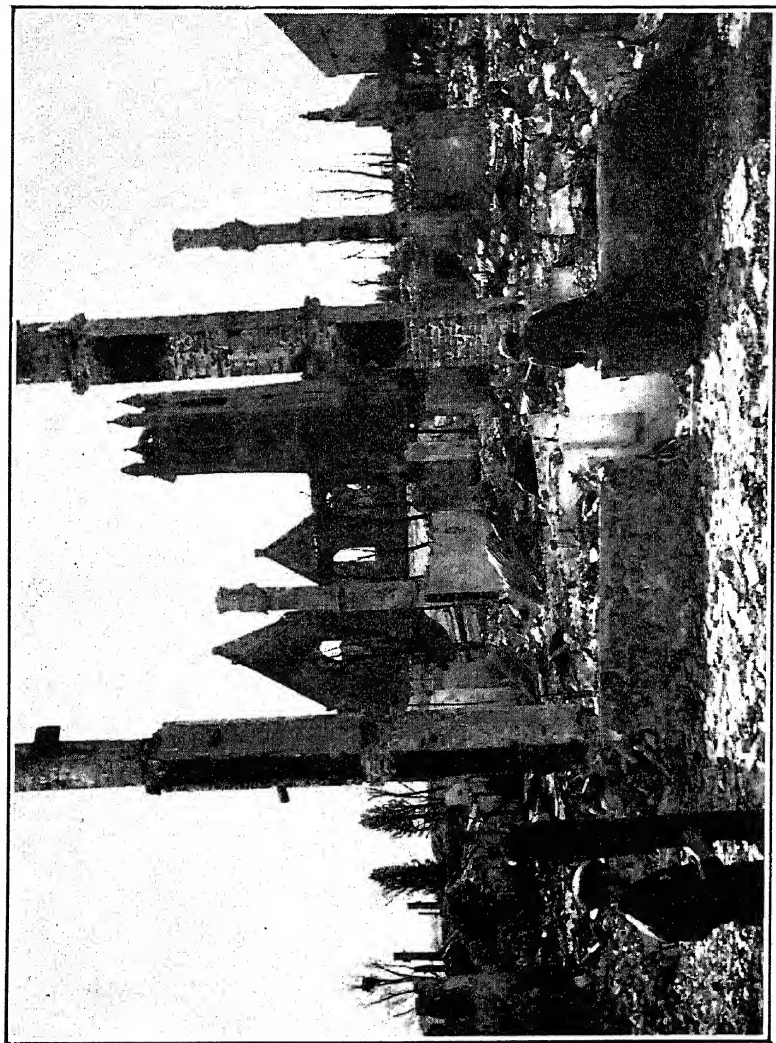
The Rector of Dröbak declared later that he had never in his life heard anything so terrible as the shrieks and howlings of those who were at the same time drowning and being burned to death. And the next day hundreds of corpses came floating up to Oslo.

The big new cruiser *Blücher* (10,000 tons) was sunk by the artillery of Oscarsborg. One thousand six hundred persons are said to have been on board; several hundred of them were saved.

The Germans made no more attempts to get by Oscarsborg. They landed their troops farther south, at Moss on the east side of the fjord and at Filtvedt on the west side. On motor-bicycles and in armored cars and trucks they proceeded to Oslo. Later on the greater part of the German transports were landed at Halden on the east side and at Larvik on the west side of the fjord.

Oscarsborg, unprotected from land, had to surrender when Oslo and the districts surrounding Dröbak and Moss were in the hands of the Germans.

The batteries at Rauer continued to fight until troops landed on the island and attacked them in the rear. The batteries at Bolaerne continued to fight until no ammunition was left. The Commanding Officer was approached by telephone



*The ruins of this church are all that is left of Namsos.*



from Oslo and told that if he continued to fight the old town of Tönsberg would be annihilated. He smashed the telephone and continued to fight. . . . And nothing happened to Tönsberg. Perhaps the Commanding Officer had had some experience of poker-bluffing before.

## II. KRISTIANSAND

The fortifications at Kristiansand and the small destroyers stationed at the headquarters of the second naval district were not less surprised than the officers at Horten when a German squadron tried to make its way into the port on the night of April 9th. But the ships and the land batteries gave fire at once, and the German attack was repulsed with considerable loss to the Germans. Their forces came again, in a second attempt to force their way past the fortifications, but were driven back. The German cruiser *Karlsruhe* (6,000 tons) and some minor craft were sunk, and the German squadron retired. Then in the morning a telegram came to the Norwegian Commanding Officer in the code of the Norwegian Navy—Horten had been surrendered—stating that a fleet of British and French destroyers was coming to help: "don't fire." Shortly afterward a number of destroyers was sighted, flying the French flag. When they

were safely ensconced with the two Norwegian destroyers between themselves and the fortress they lowered the French flag and hoisted the German. The town and the Norwegian ships were at their mercy, and the land batteries did not cover the inner port. At the same time German bombing planes opened their attack, and the Norwegian commander capitulated to save the town and his troops.

### III. BERGEN

Owing to the complete isolation of the Bergen district after the German occupation, comparatively little is officially known of the fight before the German men-of-war and transport ships captured the city. In the night of April 9th it was reported that five big German warships and a number of minor craft had passed the outermost coast-batteries and that fighting was going on. When the German ships were first hailed by a Norwegian patrol-boat, the German officer answered in perfect English: "We are an English squadron coming to protect the Norwegians against the Germans." But English no more than German ships had any right to enter the protected area at Bergen, so the small forts opened fire and mines were sown in the fjord by the Norwegians between 1 and 1:30 in the morning.

The German squadron lost some hours but was preceded by two sets of mine-sweepers which cleared the entrance. The batteries at Bergen opened fire when the German squadron was near enough, and the cruiser *Königsberg* was severely damaged (and sunk by an English bomber shortly afterward). The bombers attached to the Navy went up, but the night was so dark that they could not see to drop their bombs.

In the morning the Germans were in Bergen and had occupied the broadcasting station and the telegraph office. The surviving Norwegian officers were prisoners, and details of losses and casualties will probably not be known until the war is over.

A number of minor craft from Bergen retired to the north and south, and these will be mentioned later on.

#### IV. AGDENES

What happened at Agdenes was just about what happened at Bergen. What was publicly known at first was only that the German squadron made its way into the Trondheimsfjord, and that later the old fortress surrendered.

What has been told and commonly believed is the following version:

The German men-of-war on their way to Agdenes had forced a number of Norwegian fishing vessels and steamers in the coast traffic to accompany them, and passed the batteries screened by a flotilla of Norwegian craft and safely sandwiched in between them. The officers commanding the batteries on both sides hesitated—and lost their opportunity of stopping the Germans.

This version is not exhaustive. It seems that the Germans had arranged their screenwork to come as near Agdenes as possible. Then they went in at full speed in the dark morning. The guns at Agdenes were quite big, but not modern—8-inch Armstrongs from 1900, firing three salvos in two minutes—and no match for artillery of recent construction. And the batteries had no air-raid shelters or protection at all. They fired on and severely damaged one of the German cruisers. The Germans had to ground it in order not to see it sink.

Agdenes kept fighting for eleven hours, but the fort was absolutely helpless after the landing of German troops who could attack it from the land side, and the arrival of several German bombers. The fort surrendered in the early afternoon of April 9th.

## V. THE NORTH OF NORWAY

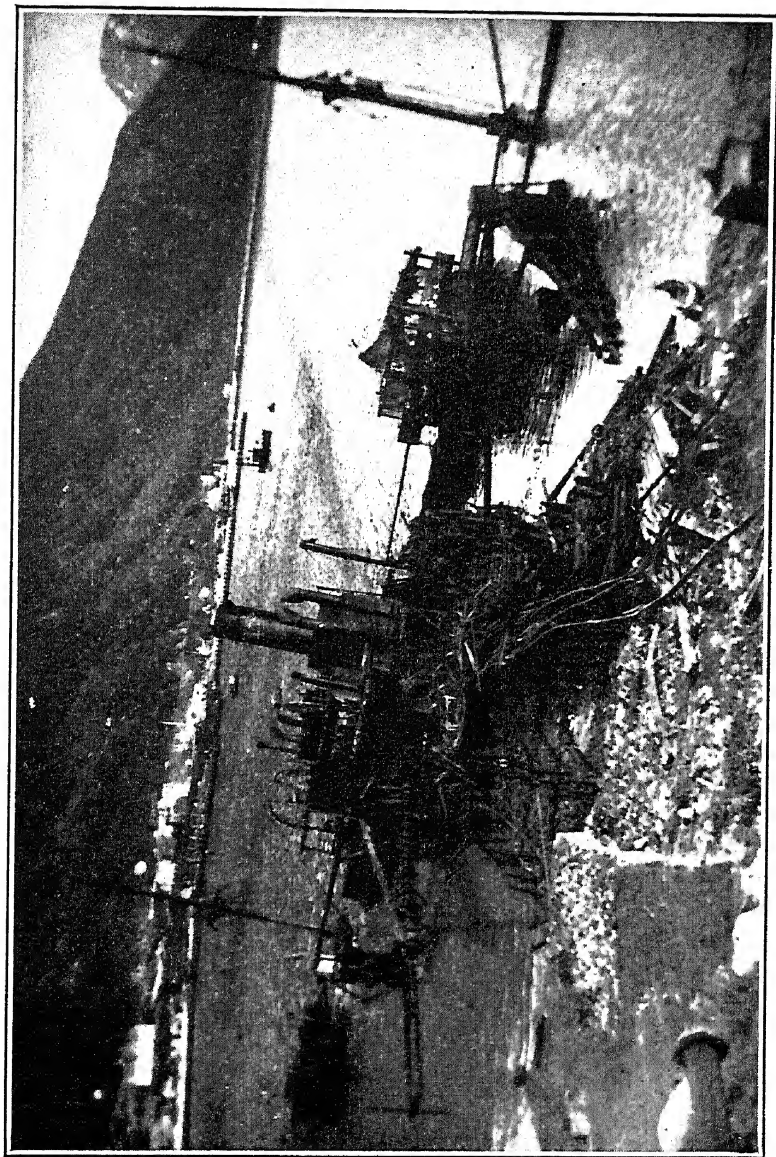
The German military authorities apparently considered Narvik one of the most important points on the coast of Norway, and so it was, but not on account of the export of iron ore. The importance of Narvik has so far been grossly misrepresented in popular propaganda; but Narvik is the most considerable center of communication north of Trondheim. The railroad to Sweden and on to Finland is of extreme importance, and the whole road-system of northern Norway starts from Narvik. The road-system of southern Norway comes to a stop at Bodö, and the net of very good motor-roads leading up to Tromsö and Finmark, and the military establishments of the north of Norway can be commanded from Narvik.

The Germans arrived in great force at Narvik. Fourteen destroyers made their way into the Ofotenfjord on that black night of the ninth of April. The visibility was extremely bad, and the snow was falling thickly. At Narvik were stationed the two old coastal defense ships the *Norge* and the *Eidsvold* (4200 tons, completed in 1901 and very lightly armored). The ships had been ordered to be ready for battle on the morning of the eighth after the laying of British

mines. Late in the evening it was reported that foreign men-of-war were on their way to Narvik. *Eidsvold* at once went into the fjord where the small coastal batteries at the entrance had opened fire without knowing the nationality of the ships and without being able to stop them.

When *Eidsvold* sighted the foreign ships she signaled "Stop" and the Germans stopped. A boat with a white flag was sent over to the *Eidsvold* from the leading German ship.

The parlementaire demanded that *Eidsvold* surrender at once. The commanding officer of the *Eidsvold* refused and demanded that the German ships quit Norwegian waters at once. While they were discussing this, the German ships were drawing nearer and nearer, and as soon as the German officer had left *Eidsvold* and his boat was clear of the Norwegian ship he flashed a signal to the German squadron-leader and instantaneously all the German ships gave fire. One shell went straight into the ammunition chamber of the *Eidsvold* and there was a terrific explosion. The old ship went down immediately and only eight of the more than 200 on board were saved. The *Norge* also ordered the Germans to stop, but the ships continued on their way. The *Norge* opened fire at once. The Germans seemed surprised; their ships turned around and went



*One of the more than thirty ships sunk in the harbor at Narvik.*



north and east. The *Norge*, close to the quay at Narvik, gave them one salvo after another. And the Germans answered. One of their torpedoes hit an English freighter, another a German merchant ship; both were sunk. The first of the attacking destroyers was hit by two 21-cm. shells and went down immediately; another of the destroyers was hit in the tower and grounded. Then old *Norge* was hit by two torpedoes, one in the engine. The ship sank in less than one minute. About ninety men out of 200 were saved.

The German merchant ships in the harbor of Narvik took part in the fighting, making profuse use of their hidden machine guns. And for the first time it was made clear that they all had a certain number of soldiers on board.

There was no garrison at Narvik, and, of course, no commander. The Colonel commanding the regiment in whose district Narvik is situated was taken prisoner. The German troops could be landed without danger or difficulty; all the men hidden on board the *Jan Willem* and the extra crew of other freighters could join their friends from the destroyers and the transport ships.

The attack had been most carefully prepared by the German consul appointed to Narvik,

who also took a very active part in the German operations in the town later on.

The German attempts on Tromsö, Malangen, Lyngenfjord and points farther north were unsuccessful. Two of their ships were sunk by the British in Vestfjorden. The great transport ship *Alster* was captured off Bodö with a most wonderful cargo of anti-aircraft guns, tanks, cars, and provisions of every variety, including a smart little printing press for the distribution of German propaganda in Norway.

A transport ship with about 3,000 men on board was sunk in the Malangenfjord by a Polish submarine. None were saved. A new armed trawler which had cost about one million reichsmark, with a large crew on board, came to Honningsvaag. There were no soldiers there and seemingly there was no danger. But the dentist of Honningsvaag, with thirty fishermen in two small motor vessels, boarded the ship and took the crew by complete surprise. The crew were all taken prisoners and the ship taken over by the Norwegian Navy. Not a single German ship came in to Tromsö or Lyngenfjord.

All around the coast of Norway fighting went on as long as a Norwegian warship was afloat. The Navy had three small destroyers completed

in 1936-37, *Aegir*, *Sleipner* and *Gyller* (510 tons). *Gyller* was stationed at Kristiansand and had to surrender when the Germans entered the harbor. *Aegir* was in Stavanger and sank one of the big German transport ships off that town. Later, in a violent engagement, *Aegir* was hit by a German bomb in the engine-room and was run ashore and scuttled by the commanding officer. Ten men had been killed, the rest escaped.

*Sleipner* was fighting, swift and strong and true to its name.\* For several weeks the boat did great damage to the Germans in western Norway, sinking ships and fighting planes. *Sleipner* brought down five German planes and was not severely hit in any of the many engagements. At last it crossed the North Sea and went to Scapa Flow to repair. It is still fighting under the Norwegian flag.

Next there were three destroyers completed in 1910-13—*Draug*, *Garm*, *Troll* (500 tons).

*Garm* was in the Bergen district, and when Bergen had been occupied, the ship did the patrolling in the Sognefjord. She sank several German ships, but was at last bombed and set on fire. The crew were saved and joined other Norwegian fighting units.

\* *Sleipner* was the eight-footed battlehorse of *Odin* (Wotan), the old Norse God.

*Troll* was fighting on the southern coast of Norway and was at last scuttled by the crew, so as not to fall into the hands of the Germans. Guns and equipment were brought ashore in one of the small towns on the coast, and the crew joined the forces fighting in Telemark.

*Draug* had been stationed and fighting in western Norway. At the last stage, she sank a big German transport ship and came over to the Orkneys with sixty-five German prisoners on board. She is still fighting under the Norwegian flag.

The small torpedo-boats along the coast went on fighting as long as they had any coal and water left, and were then scuttled by their crews, so as not to fall into the hands of the Germans. But a number of them took part in quite dramatic engagements before their Saga ended. This was especially true in the Sognefjord and the Hardangerfjord. The modest naval defense of these fjords made it possible to carry through mobilization in the districts, and the Germans suffered quite heavy losses against them.

The small fortifications at Lerøy, thirty miles south of Bergen, had been taken by the Germans, but a flotilla of small Norwegian boats recaptured them one night, dismounted the guns, and got away with them. The guns were then

mounted on trucks and used for the coastal defense. Two great German freighters were sunk outside the Hardangerfjord, one of them a 10,000 ton-er with iron ore from Narvik. The big German steamer *Hugo Stinnes* was captured by the torpedo boat *Stegg* (220 tons, built in 1917). The mine-layer *Tyr* sank a German motor torpedo boat and forced one of the great German armed trawlers to run ashore. The crews of the boats annihilated a German motor-cycle-patrol near Norheimsund. At last the Germans sent their ships into the Hardangerfjord. The *Stegg* and the *Sel* (90 tons, built in 1900) were lost, but the crews were saved.

The boats which were still afloat gradually came to the north of Norway, and when the King and Government evacuated Tromsø on the seventh of June, thirteen boats serving with the Norwegian Navy, the biggest of them the 1,300-ton sloop *Fridtjof Nansen*, crossed the North Atlantic with them and are still flying the Norwegian flag.

## CHAPTER X

### THE WAR IN NORWAY: THE ARMY

NORWAY has no standing army. Article 109 of the Constitution (adopted in 1814) lays down: "Every citizen of the state, irrespective of birth or fortune, shall be equally obliged to serve in the defense of his fatherland for a certain time. The application of this principle and the practical exceptions it may undergo shall be decided by law."

The exceptions, then, have been the physically unfit; and in recent years, the military rolls having been too full, a number of young men have also been drafted free. But it has been considered the constitutional right of any man to demand military training if he wishes it.

This training has been very short in Norway. The first year the recruits served for forty-eight days, until 1934, after that for sixty days. This period was recently prolonged to seventy-two days and, this year, to eighty-four days. The following three years the conscripts should in principle serve for thirty days; but whenever it was

found expedient to save money on the military budget and spend more money for road-building or social purposes, the "regimental training," as it was called, was curtailed. That the period of training was insufficient under modern conditions is more than obvious; but until the outbreak of the Great War there had been a strong current of anti-militarism in Norway. It disappeared completely when Finland was invaded by Russia. Large sums of money had been voted for national defense since September, 1939, but very little of the material ordered had been delivered at the time of the German invasion. There was a complete lack of tanks, of anti-tank-guns, and very little anti-aircraft in the country.

On the other hand the Norwegians are excellent marksmen; there were *skytterlag*—shooting societies—supported by the state all over the country. And a powerful movement to strengthen national defense was on foot.

The Germans knew this, as they knew everything else. It was easy enough. Everything was public in Norway. There were no military secrets. With the help of public documents anybody could find out anything. In April the Army was not mobilized except in the north of Norway, where there had been a partial mobilization since the beginning of the war in Finland.

One of the battalions from the Trondheim area had been moved up to the Finnish frontier. But in southern Norway everything lay open. There were very few troops or extra guards to protect even the military magazines or the armories.

Now, in the very early morning of April 9th, a general mobilization had been ordered. Thursday should be the first day of mobilization. But by Thursday the greater part of the centers of mobilization in southern Norway were in the hands of the Germans. And the young men meeting there to get their uniforms and arms and to report to their officers ran directly into the Germans and, quite naturally, were at a loss.

As soon as the Germans had taken over the radio station in Oslo, they started to announce through Mr. Quisling and his helpers that there was no mobilization; the order had been withdrawn. And the Government had no nationwide radio at its command.

In consequence of this state of disorder and confusion, practically every individual officer and every individual soldier outside the sphere of action of the Hamar radio, which was at the disposal of the Government during those first days, had to make a personal attempt to find his comrades-at-arms and his superior officers. The roads of southern Norway were thronged with

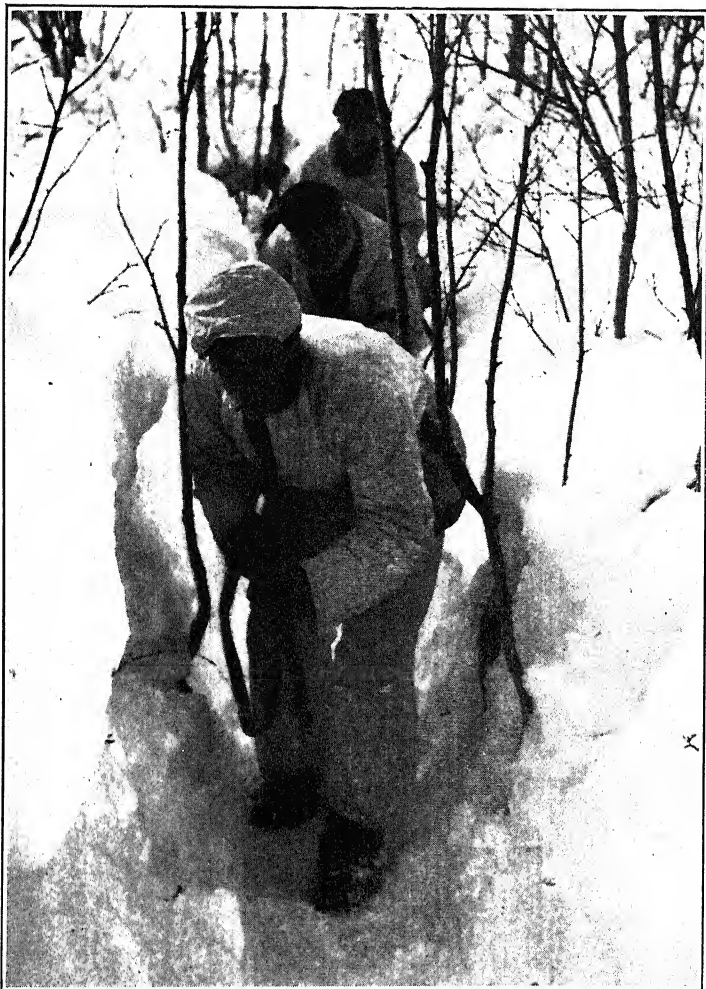
young men trying to find the Army, wherever it was.

The first military unit to come into actual contact with the Germans was the 1st division, under General Erichsen, commanding the district south of Oslo on the east side of the fjord. This part of the country had been a battleground for centuries, and the old fortress at Fredriksten is honored in Norwegian history. But Fredriksten belongs to the neutral zone along the border, which was demilitarized after 1905. It is just a historical relic and has no fighting value. In this district there were some fortifications about 45 miles south of Oslo—around Mysen, Askim, and Fossum—and here General Erichsen took his stand. But the forts are facing east: they were built in the days when another war with Sweden did not seem impossible. General Erichsen mobilized with great speed, and no arsenals or magazines were taken by surprise by the Germans in this district; but the General was cut off from all communication with Headquarters and had no knowledge of what was really happening in Norway. His troops suffered a good deal from air attacks; they had no anti-aircraft and no planes and were constantly bombed and machine-gunned. After a week of fighting General Erichsen had three alternatives: to fight to the last

man, to surrender, or to go over the border and be interned in Sweden. He chose the last. If his fighting on could have saved Oslo, if any Allied troops had been on their way to the capital, he would have fought on; but Oslo was already in the hands of the Germans and there was no possibility of his being reinforced. General Erichsen believed the Germans to be behind his lines, north of his positions. He was also convinced that before long Sweden would be in the war and that an internment in Sweden would not last very long. So he went across the border with more than 3,000 men and large quantities of provisions of every variety.

Rumors were spread that there had been treachery everywhere in his district, and those rumors were given wide publicity in Sweden and even used by military commentators. On April 17th General Erichsen—then interned in Sweden—sent out the following categorical denial:

An article published in *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 16th, under the heading "Treason in Askim and Mysen," contains grave accusations against the Norwegian troops which operated in Askim and Mysen. It is stated, among other things, that they were led by treacherous officers, that they had not been given sufficient arms, that the soldiers had not had anything to eat since Tuesday last week, and that the soldiers



*Norwegian soldiers advancing against the German positions.*



had never had an opportunity to fight for their country, etc.

I wish to state that this information does not contain a single word of truth. In these days, when we Norwegians are living through such terrible happenings, it is to be deeply regretted that our burden should be increased by rumors which are entirely without foundation in fact. These rumors must be regarded as a part of the strong propaganda which is being conducted by the enemy in order to destroy us also by means of this weapon.

The military commentator to whom the letter was addressed apologized.

General Hvinden Haug, Chief of the 2nd Division, had the difficult task of trying to establish lines of defense around Oslo and to obstruct the Germans in every possible way until an army could be improvised to protect the King and the Government. There were no pitched battles, but there was desperate fighting at every place where there was a possibility of taking a stand. And as the lines of the Regular Army retired, companies of ski-runners were formed in the districts they had left, often under command of ski-runners or athletes of international renown. Their feats and exploits will live long in national tradition, in poetry, and in new sagas to be written. Also

the aces among the champions in marksmanship in Norway were doing exceedingly well. This accounts for the remarkably high figures of German losses in Norway. The total number of Germans killed in Norway has been estimated, conservatively, at about 65,000. Of these, more than 25,000 perished at sea.

Several things angered the Norwegians deeply. But strong passions take time to develop in the northern climates; the Norwegians had been very simple-minded, very innocent, very unsuspecting. It took them a long time to grasp what had really happened and what was still happening. For centuries they have not been good haters; it is foreign to their education and to their mentality. What the Germans were doing and how they were behaving was incredible, unbelievable. But slowly and unwillingly the Norwegians were forced to admit facts.

A surprising number of the first German troops that came to Norway spoke Norwegian well; a great many spoke it perfectly. It was soon found out that the vanguard were Austrian troops, what had been called in Norway "Wiener-barn" (Vienna-children), young men who years before had been guests in Norwegian homes during the period of famine in Austria and southern Germany. Every hard winter hun-

dreds of them had been more or less adopted by Norwegian families, treated as their children, housed and clad and fed, often sent to school, and taught Norwegian. This was the return of the children, the German way of expressing gratitude for hospitality.

Then there was another class of soldiers, knowing Norway even better and speaking Norwegian fluently. They were the poor tourists, the *Wandervögel* (Americans might call them hitch-hikers) who flocked to Norway every summer. Many of them carried mandolins and sang their German songs. They were not exactly beggars, but they accepted readily everything that was given to them—and the Norwegians never refuse a hungry man a meal. They were asking for low fares on railways and steamers; very often they were loudly complaining over conditions in Germany, of the system, of everything, praising Norway and its free institutions. It never occurred to the Norwegians that these young men and sometimes young girls were on a mission in Norway, that they were pioneers of an invasion planned for years, that their love of nature was of a peculiar variety, that the sketches they were making were sketches of bridges, of cross-roads, of strategically important points, many of them later found in the

pockets of German prisoners or dead lieutenants of the sappers and engineers.

Norway was in every way an open country. There was no distrust of foreigners. On the contrary, people were interested in foreigners, they were curious, they were intrigued, they liked to ask them questions and talk with them, and they were naïvely flattered when foreigners spoke their language.

It was only after the invasion had started that it was learned that for some years there had been courses in Norwegian for German officers, as there had been courses in Danish and Swedish. And it was only then that people began to understand.

The Norwegians did not like to hear German soldiers speaking their language, and they liked still less to see them in Norwegian uniforms. This was a ruse appealing to the German sense of military honor. Especially in the north of Norway was a considerable number of Germans clad in Norwegian uniforms; they were taken prisoner in these uniforms; they were even allowed to pass through Sweden in Norwegian uniforms on their way back from the Narvik area.

The Norwegians did not like the Germans abusing the white flag, which was often done in the most treacherous way; they did not like

the Germans bombing hospitals and hospital-ships and any ambulances seen. This was done so systematically that in the last two weeks of the war in Norway, Norwegian nurses and surgeons were instructed never to wear their Red Cross armlets and never to display any Red Cross flag or symbol, because then they would be a sure target for the German bombers and machine-gunners.

Some facts are outstanding. On April 29th the hospital ship *Brand IV* was bombed and machine-gunned at Aalesund. The ship was painted and marked in such a way that no misunderstanding was possible. One surgeon, one trained nurse, one Lotta, one ambulance worker and one of the crew were killed and others were wounded. Two German bombers circled over the ship, dropping bombs and firing machine guns.

On May 1st the hospital ship *Dronning Maud* was bombed at Gratangen by two German planes, and finally set on fire by incendiary bombs. Eleven wounded were killed and nine of the crew. Thirty-three persons were wounded; some of them did not survive. Those who jumped overboard and tried to swim ashore were machine-gunned by the German aviators.

On June 7th, when the north of Norway was evacuated, two hospital ships were bombed and

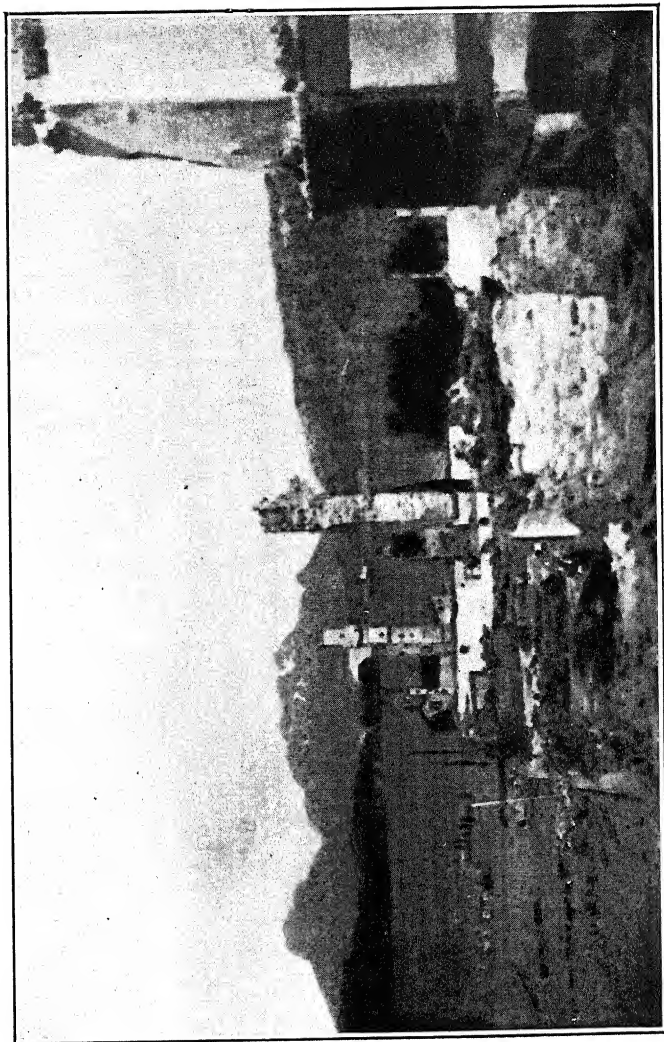
sunk, the *Ariadne* and the *Prins Olav*. Four persons were killed.

Kristiansund, an open and absolutely defenseless town where there have never been any military establishments whatsoever, was bombed for three days and nights; only one house remained. Even the bridges leading out of town were bombed, and 15,000 inhabitants were left without shelter. In the same way Molde was bombed, and Reknes, the great sanatorium for tuberculosis, was bombed and set on fire. Fortunately it had just been evacuated, for the German preference for hospitals was known by that time.

When Bodö was attacked from the air and 5,000 defenseless civilians lost their homes, German dive-bombers went for the hospital and dropped incendiary bombs right on the Red Cross marks on the roof. The whole building was set on fire. There were still 160 patients in the building; they had all to be carried out, and a number of them died.

At Borgund outside Aalesund on a Sunday morning, women and children coming from divine service in the parish church were machine-gunned from a German plane circling around the church.

In the Valdres valley a funeral procession on



*This is where Bodö once was.*



its way to the cemetery was attacked in the same way.

Another thing which roused the slowly smoldering anger of the Norwegians was the German trick of tying men and women to the fenders and bumpers of their cars and forcing them to stand on the running boards so as to shield the German soldiers when they were making their blitz-attacks along the roads of Norway.

In the same way the German parachutists not only took shelter in Norwegian farmhouses and small homesteads, but sought cover behind women and children when they were attacked.

I remember a case in which some German soldiers had been taken prisoner behind a screen of commandeered civilians. The commanding officer asked me whether he was entitled under international law to shoot those prisoners. I answered that as I saw it it was not a legal question; no doubt the Norwegians would be justified in shooting any German taken prisoner in Norway. It was an arithmetical question. On which side was the greater number of prisoners? The Germans having thousands of prisoners and the Norwegians only a few handfuls it would seem no good policy to start killing off the German prisoners even if every single soldier fully deserved it. No German prisoners were shot.

But a great number of German soldiers were killed in action.

Fighting was very sanguinary during the retreat of Hvinden Haug's forces. Especially in Ringerike, up towards Valders and round Gjøvik. The cadet company from Oslo, the soldiers from Sogn sent across to Valders and the young and old soldiers in the district made a wonderful stand; and every single unit deserves its poet and chronicler.

Some of the bus drivers in Oslo became quite famous. The Germans had commandeered the big buses running in every direction from the capital and forced the drivers to take German soldiers to the different fronts. Some of the drivers agreed to put a stop to this system. And one day three of the great buses being driven from Oslo to Hønefoss went over the precipice near Solihøgda; there were sixty men in each bus besides the driver. All were killed. But the Germans stopped the fourth bus, and they let the drivers alone afterward.

The first German blitz-attack against Hamar and Elverum was led by the Air Attaché at the German Legation in Oslo. He led in one of the Legation cars which still had the license plate ensuring diplomatic immunity—C. D. (Corps Diplomatique); and those who saw him grasped

the Oriental wisdom which has interpreted C. D. as *Canaille Distinguée* (distinguished crook).

Immediately after the bombardment of Elverum on the ninth of April the Government promoted Colonel Otto Ruge, Inspector-General of the Infantry and former chief of the General Staff, to the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Norwegian Army, and entrusted him with the tremendous task of establishing lines of defense in an open country with no fortifications, at a moment when every nerve of mobilization had been cut off and when he had at his disposal no regular regiments, battalions or companies, but simply what was once called in American history "a rabble in arms."

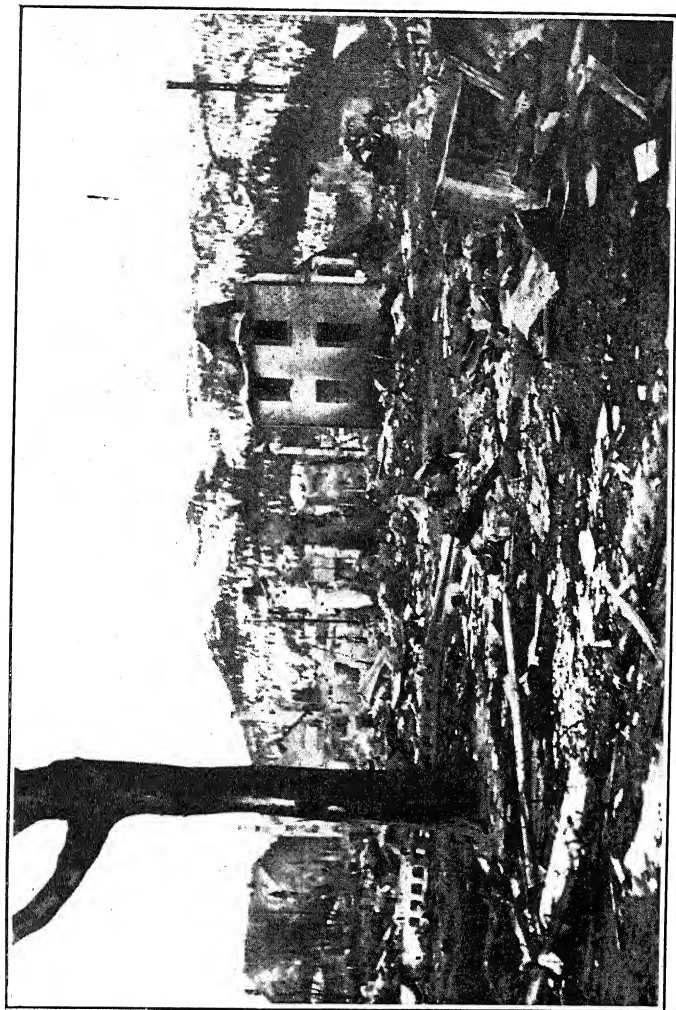
The story of what happened in those first weeks can not be told more simply and more eloquently than in the words of General Ruge himself:

When the German invasion took place, the sea defenses—ships and coastal batteries—were mobilized and had been mobilized since September, except that unfortunately the mines had not been laid. In the case of the land defenses the situation was quite different. Apart from a few battalions, functioning as neutrality guard, the Army was not mobilized.

It was not until Tuesday morning, when the Navy and the coastal forts were already fighting, that the order was issued for mobilization of the Army. This order did not even reach all divisions. The only intimation of mobilization which reached the country was a radio speech by the Foreign Minister to the effect that mobilization was going on. And this was denied soon afterward by the Oslo radio, which had in the meantime been seized by the Germans.

While this went on the Germans had taken all the arsenals in southern Norway and many of the mobilization centers with most of the supplies. They had occupied the broadcasting stations and broken off all important telephone and telegraph connections. The Supreme Command, the commanders of the five southern divisions (Norway had only six divisions, one being in the north) as well as a number of regimental staffs, had been obliged to leave their quarters. And their mobilization files were in the hands of the Germans. This made a systematic mobilization of the Army in southern Norway impossible.

What happened during the first forty-eight hours is not very clear. Every officer had to act on his own judgment, based on what he knew or more often did not know about the situation. The mobilization centers of some regiments had not been captured, and they tried to mobilize according to plans. In several instances this was prevented by the Germans bombing the arsenals, as for instance at Elverum, Helgelands-



*Ruins of Steinkjaer.*



moen, Hvalsmoen. In other districts the Germans disturbed the mobilization by blitz-attacks with motorized forces.

The result was that only in Romsdal and Voss could a fairly regular mobilization be carried out. Elsewhere everything had to be improvised. The groups of individuals who were not already in the hands of the Germans tried to get together, fighting as they went along. As early as Tuesday morning small isolated groups were fighting round about the country. Special mention ought to be made of the battle to the death of the aviators at Fornebo airport near Oslo, and the fight at Midtskogen near Elverum where a hastily assembled group of guard recruits, laborers, and volunteers stopped a German motorized force.

These isolated encounters were intensified in the following days, but the situation was not very clear.

When I took over the command, what was known at General Headquarters was only this: Around Oslo from Eidsvold in the east to Solihögda in the West dispersed Norwegian units tried to break the German onslaught. At Elverum detachments of the Österdal regiment were gathering. It was not clear whether or not we had any forces in the Glomma Valley and around Kongsvinger. It was believed that there must be some Norwegian troops in Östfold, but we did not know and it was impossible to establish any telephone connection. Nothing was known of conditions in Telemark, in the Kristiansand area, at Stavanger, and in the Trondheim area. But we knew that the Bergen

Division tried to mobilize at Voss and the Möre Regiment at Romsdal.

After the lapse of a week—in some cases not until a longer time had elapsed—we were informed in a circuitous way by officers we had sent out that isolated detachments of the 1st Division were at Mysen, of the 3rd Division at Setesdal and east of Stavanger, and of the 5th Division at Stören and around Steinkjaer. But we were at a loss as to the numbers of these forces and the amount of arms and ammunition at their disposal.

When General Headquarters did not know more, you will understand that the individual local commanders knew even less. Every kind of rumor was circulated. The Oslo radio systematically worked to increase the confusion; instructions from our own Government did not get across the country. Under such conditions it is not difficult to understand that things may have happened which ought not to have happened. But this I can safely say: that in every district where I knew what was going on there was a manifest determination to fight, and this determination waxed more stubborn as the attitude of the Government became known: that we should not give in but take up arms and carry on. This was done.

In the north of Norway the situation was far more hopeful. The German force at Narvik was isolated. The 6th Division was to a large extent mobilized under a determined commander. There was no ground for anxiety. But we had no opportunity to render assist-

ance from southern Norway. General Fleischer had to look after himself.

What we had to do was to keep a firm foothold somewhere in southern Norway, preferably in Trøndelag, where it seemed that the Allies could most easily land. Allied help on a large scale was promised at once. It was our task to keep going and protect Trøndelag from the South. With the weak and improvised forces we had at our disposal, practically without artillery, it was impossible for us to engage in any decisive battle before the Allies came to our aid. All we could do was to hold a position till the Germans became too strong for us, then fall back quickly to some distance and repeat the same game there. In this way we fought our way back through eastern Norway from one position to another—Eidsvold, Harestua, Solihögda—back to Dovre, gradually drawing eastward what we could of the forces in Voss and Romsdal. It was a constant race against time, on one side the Germans pressing ever harder, on the other the anxiously awaited Allies.

It was a hard three weeks for our small Norwegian forces, who fought without respite, day after day, night after night, without reserves, always in the front line, against heavy artillery, tanks, and an overwhelming number of German bombers—to all of which we could oppose nothing, no armored cars, no anti-aircraft guns, no pursuit planes.

For three weeks our divisions held out until at last the Allies began to come, and in such numbers that I

felt sure the crisis would soon be past. The joint operations of our forces and those of the Allies against Trondheim could soon begin. Then came the decision of the Allies to retire from southern Norway and Trøndelag. The decision was made after deliberations which I can not discuss here, but for us Norwegians it was a hard blow. Our troops were exhausted, our supplies of munitions depleted. Left alone against the increasing German pressure we could do nothing.

It was a bitter moment for us all, and not least for me.

For three weeks I had been wearing out these men who had followed me so loyally and with such sure faith in our cause.

But these three weeks will surely never be forgotten by any of those who lived through them. Three weeks filled with memories of stubborn, faithful men and women, whether combatant or among those who shared our toil and danger—surgeons, nurses, Lottas, field laborers, workmen, railroad men and telegraph-functionaries, roadmenders, and so on. Only we who have lived in the midst of it can know how all these worked and what they accomplished.

Remember what kind of an army this was. From Oslo, for instance, came hundreds of men who could not mobilize because the Germans held Oslo. They gathered around some leader and became a "company"; they met other groups of the same kind and became "battalions" under the command of some officer. Casually assembled infantrymen, artilleryists,

sailors and aviators, with cars and chauffeurs collected from God knows where, became fighting units. A commissary department was improvised, the women on the farms doing the cooking and looking after things. Sanitary service we had none, but it seemed to spring up out of the ground under the hands of energetic and resourceful physicians. I visited one hospital in Gudbrandsdal which was full of wounded and fairly well equipped for its work. The doctor in charge was a civilian who said that he had started at a crossroads near Eidsvold with one box of aspirin in his pocket. Willing hands had done the rest.

The railroad station at Dombaas was bombed every day, burned and laid waste, the railroad and telegraph connections broken—but every night it was repaired sufficiently to use. The unknown men who, in great danger of their lives, did this work night after night, seeming never to sleep, will not be forgotten by us who saw them.

I remember the military laborers who were given guns at Midtskogen. Some of them had never held a gun in their hands before and were rather surprised to find themselves soldiers, but they stopped the Germans. The tough Opland squadron covered the retreat of the British until they were themselves surrounded by Germans—"a splendid regiment," the British commander said.

The so-called Sörkedal Ski Company consisted of men who had escaped from Oslo and met in the ski hills in Nordmarka outside the city and turned up

as a fighting unit thoroughly welded together. Our fliers with their old Moths and Fokkers darted in and out among the fast German planes, ready to take any risk. The 4th Division—that of the west—fought a suicidal battle at Tonsaasen for four days, holding back a large German force and thereby easing the situation in Gudbrandsdal while the British troops were landing in Romsdal. Hegra, an old abandoned fort, held out for a month, manned by casually assembled people who simply would not give up.

I bring to mind my “travelling” officers who were sent wherever the need was greatest—always in the firing line. I remember the students of the Technical Institute in Trondheim who worked as volunteers. I remember the old taxi driver who by chance had given me a lift the first day and who stayed permanently, was on the road day and night, bombed and machine-gunned, but always smiling and with a firm grip on the wheel. I remember the escaped college boys who served with the ordnance, and all the courageous women who helped us, the nurses, telephone operators, and Lottas. I remember a cup of coffee at night in a bombed Lotta station and a young girl in ski trousers who served the telephone in a burning kiosk.

And I say to myself: I admit that many things might have been better, that some persons from whom we might have expected more failed us, that others did not seem to know there was a war. Nevertheless, in those weeks my faith in my people grew:



*General Otto Ruge, Commander-in-Chief of the Norwegian  
Army.*



faith in their willingness to sacrifice, in their endurance, their confidence, and their courage. I have found the same confidence here in the north. I have seen that this people will not die.

When I left my last quarters in southern Norway and bade good-by to the heterogeneous crowd which had helped me there, an old telegraph laborer said to me: "You will be coming back?"

And we shall be coming back!

The main theater of war had been the Gudbrandsdal, where fighting had gone on from farmhouse to farmhouse all the way between Lillehammer and Aandalsnes, with heavy bombing every day. While the main German attack had been directed along this line—because the King, the Government, and the Crown-Prince were in Gudbrandsdal—other German forces tried to get around the Norwegian army by way of Österdal; there was heavy fighting all along from Elverum to Rena, to Koppang, to Atna, at Sollia. The Germans were not successful here, so they advanced as far as Tynset and on to Ullsberg in an effort to join forces with the Germans marching south from Trondheim. Another German column advanced by way of Röros. This little town on the bare and windy mountain plain was lost, retaken, and given up again four times. All through the Gauldal there was the

strongest resistance, and at Stören there was a continuous fight for days. But the air attacks were decisive, and the harbor at Aandalsnes between the high mountains was a minor hell.

It was on April 28th that the British decided to evacuate. The evacuation made it impossible to hold any line of resistance south of Trondheim, and the decision to evacuate came so suddenly that there were no ships available for the Norwegian troops; only small numbers could get out of the fjord. General Hvinden Haug, whose troops had joined General Ruge's army, had to surrender. So had the Möre Regiment.

But minor forces kept on fighting in the high mountains and along the Swedish frontier from Röros to Trysil. A number of young Norwegians and Swedes who had fought in Finland kept on here, and some of them made successful raids until the middle of May.

The evacuation came as a great disappointment; but if the British troops had not been landed and sent to Gudbrandsdal it would hardly have been possible for the King, the Crown-Prince and the Government to escape without being taken prisoners by the Germans.

The main body of the 3rd Division (Kristiansand) surrendered in Setesdal. An ultimatum was given: either surrender, or Kristiansand and

the neighboring towns would be bombed out of existence. The commanding general, who could not get in touch with the Government or General Headquarters, would not be responsible for towns bombed and civilians killed; he surrendered. But a force of 700 men, reinforced by others who wanted to fight, took their stand at Vinjesvingen in Telemark, in a very strong position. In vain the Germans tried to take their positions by storm; they were repulsed, and fighting went on for more than two months. When no more munitions were left, the troops were dismissed and disappeared over the mountains.

In the Stavanger area the colonel commanding the Rogaland regiment had at his disposal one battalion from Oslo, sent to protect the air-drome at Sola, and one company at Haugesund. The communication with Haugesund was broken early in the night of April 9th. The troops at hand—there was no artillery—were sent by motorcar to protect the places where landing of troops was most likely to be attempted.

The young men of the district were eager to join up: first two companies, then a battalion were formed. The overwhelming air force of the Germans was a constant menace to the Nor-

wegian troops who made a gallant stand some twenty miles outside Stavanger.

The commanding officer wanted to join the troops in Setesdal and marched two companies who had no skis across the roadless mountains only to be met with the news that the troops in Setesdal had capitulated. The Rogaland regiment would not capitulate, and the troops once more crossed the mountains. They had a good deal of success; they knew the difficult terrain, took a number of prisoners, captured machine guns and automatic weapons, and when asked by the German commander in Stavanger (April 19th) to surrender they refused to do so.

\* The Germans had great losses, but they intensified their bomb attacks; the small Norwegian force, which could not expect to be reinforced, kept on fighting the superior numbers. Major Brandt, Commander of the Battalion from Oslo, one of his captains and two lieutenants fell on April 23rd; some of the Norwegian troops broke through the German lines and finally joined the troops fighting in Telemark. The rest were taken prisoners.

When the German men-of-war entered the port of Bergen there were no troops in the town proper. But when the first reports came in that

the coastal batteries had opened fire, General Steffens, in command of the Bergen Division, ordered 800 men stationed at the old training camp at Ulven, some eighteen miles out of Bergen, to take a stand just outside the city. Then he went to Voss, seventy miles east of Bergen and the center of mobilization, to get his division under arms. There was fighting all round Bergen, and slowly the little force outside the city retired along the railroad leading to Oslo by way of Voss.

With German ships in the port and German attacks on land, the small forces of the batteries north and south of Bergen had to surrender. In Bergen, as in other towns, the German consul and his secretaries and functionaries had been busy preparing the invasion and were actively helping the aggressors. The strong crews of the German freighters lying in Bergen proved to be armed and also took active part in the fighting.

The mobilization was carried through, and the General soon had about 5,000 men at his command. But he had to send the greater part of his troops across to eastern Norway to support General Ruge. One regiment went to Valdres, some companies down Hallingdal to Gulsvik, and a few companies to Numedal. There was fighting all along the railroad from

Trengereid to Voss; the Norwegian positions were quite strong as long as the Germans did not command the Hardangerfjord and the Sognefjord. But when the big German ships came to Eide and started shelling the troops, when Voss was attacked by 3,000 Germans and mercilessly bombed and machine-gunned from the air, General Steffens had to retire into Sogn with the 1,000 men he had left. He crossed to the north side of the fjord, and his troops were still there when news came that southern Norway had been evacuated and General Headquarters removed to the north of Norway. General Steffens then demobilized his troops and flew to the north of Norway. A number of his men followed in fisher-boats; the others went back to their homes.

General Steffens is now in Canada in command of Norwegian forces training there.

In the Trondheim area the mobilization had been carried on north of the city where the mobilization centers were Levanger for a cavalry regiment and Steinkjaer for an infantry regiment. But it was impossible to establish a line of resistance along the road as long as the German men-of-war were in undisputed command of the fjord. Also the military establish-



*Colonel Getz of the Norwegian Army.*



ments at Vaernes and the small airdrome there had to be given up. The Germans were constantly reinforced by air-transports, but Colonels Wettre and Getz had grouped their troops in good positions at the Snaasa Lake and resisted successfully.

There was an old fort at Hegra in Stjördal, and the men there—with one nurse who had just returned from an ambulance sent to Finland—held out for one month, repulsing every German attack. They even succeeded in turning their guns around so that they could shell the Vaernes airdrome and cause considerable damage to the German air force.

On April 19th, Allied forces were landed at Namsos. Contact was immediately established with the small army under Colonel Getz, and an advance on Trondheim was planned. For the next ten days there were attacks and counter-attacks. But the Allied forces had no air protection, nor did they have the artillery required. Namsos and Steinkjaer were destroyed by bombing, and on May 1st Colonel Getz learned that the Allied forces had evacuated without consulting him and had left his right flank exposed. He was very short of ammunition, so he opened negotiations with the German commander, and after two days' discussion surrendered with his

force, having sent his reserves to cover the one road leading to the north of Norway.

For the next couple of weeks the regular war was concentrated on two fronts: around Narvik and along the road leading north from Snaasa.

Very slowly the Germans advanced against a stubborn resistance. A small British force was landed at Mo in Rana, and some troops were sent south by General Fleischer; but the Germans succeeded in getting two transport ships sent in to Hemnesberget, in crossing the mountain from Elsfjord to Korgen, and also in hurrying troops north by air. The Norwegian and British troops retired to Saltdal and on to Bodö, fighting incessantly. By the end of May Bodö was bombed practically out of existence, and so was the village center at Fauske. The Norwegian and British troops were evacuated and joined the army at Narvik. The continuous road system from Oslo to Bodö was then in the hands of the Germans, but they could not advance any farther by land.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE WAR IN NORWAY: THE AIR FORCE

THE small Norwegian Air Force numbered only a little more than a hundred planes, thirty-two serving with the Navy and eighty-three with the Army. Those serving with the Navy—twenty-four scouting planes and eight German Heinkels—were stationed at Horten, Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, Hitra (off the Trondheimsfjord), Tromsö and Vadsö. They had been patrolling the coast for months on the look-out for submarines and every kind of belligerent war craft threatening to trespass in Norwegian territorial waters. Contracts for new planes, and more especially for fighters, had been placed in various countries after the outbreak of the war. But the new planes had not yet been handed over to the Norwegian Air Force. Nineteen Curtiss machines were on the point of arriving and were captured by the Germans before they were mounted. When Horten was attacked on April 9th one of the scouting planes there brought down one of the German bombers. The Norwegian aviators got

their planes out of Horten, and also some from Kristiansand, before the surrender and joined the small Air Force working around the coast.

It must be remembered that their planes were relatively slow one-motor machines, inferior to the German planes both in speed and in armament. Nevertheless, they attacked, and often quite successfully, whenever there was an opportunity. There were no real air-battles, since the German planes were evading fights, probably because they were more interested in securing quick air transport. Very few German fighters were in Norway during the first phase of the invasion. The Germans knew, of course, that the Norwegians had no fighters and so could use their great transport and bombing machines undisturbed. These kept up a regular traffic over the whole of southern Norway.

Some lines from a report by Lieutenant Bugge, second in command of the 2nd Flying Squadron at Flatøy, Bergen, gives a good idea of the matter-of-fact way in which the aviators accepted the war:

On Monday April 8th we were reconnoitering along the coast to report on the British mines laid at Statt and Hustadviken. In the course of the day bombs were fetched from the magazines at Kvarven. In the evening bombs were hung under some of the

machines. At 11 P.M. we were ordered to go on the ordinary air patrol as soon as the day dawned.

In the course of the night we were informed that unknown men-of-war had passed Faerder, and somewhat later that a fight was on between these ships and the fortifications of Oslofjord. About 2:00 A.M. we were informed that unknown men-of-war had passed Marsteinen. Every man was called out and the machines made ready to start. Later, about three o'clock, it was reported that ships had passed Vatlstrømmen, and we were ordered to get on the wings and bomb. One M.F. 11 scouting plane and one Heinkel bombing machine went up. It was still completely dark. We could hear the guns roaring from Byfjorden. The M.F. had four German-made, 50-kg.\* bombs. The Heinkel had three German-made 250-kg. bombs. It went south over Hjeltefjorden and Sotra at a height of 3,000 meters. It was too dark for the machines to drop any bombs. We could see the firing between Kvarven, Hellen, and ships in Byfjorden.

The Norwegian aviators, except in the far north, were driven away from their bases on the very first day of the war. They spread in small units all over the country—along the coast and on the frozen lakes. And the impossibility of getting fuel put a time limit to their activities. Ammunition was scarce, and they had few

\* 50 kg. = 112 pounds.

bombs. Part of those at hand had been bought from Germany and it was soon found that a certain percentage of these bombs did not explode. Had that not been so, German losses would have been greater, especially around Bergen.

When no more high-grade octane was available the machines made use of regular low-grade gasoline, but this meant reduced efficiency and also made flying insecure. And when no more gasoline could be obtained in Norway those planes of the Navy which could still be flown went over to the Shetland Islands or along the coast to northern Norway. One of the planes was lost on its way across the North sea. The rest of those that came over were declared unserviceable by the British. But by taking parts from different machines and patching them together the boys managed to get two machines on the wing, and Lieutenant T. Diesen and Ensign Finn Kjos flew them directly from the Shetland Islands to Tromsö over the German-infested waters.

When the north of Norway was evacuated shortly afterward these same aviators flew back from Tromsö to the Shetlands—this time in two-motor Heinkels captured from the Germans. It was reported that one of the planes had been lost; there was a thick fog over the Shetlands on June

7th; Ensign Finn Kjos was reported missing. But it was found out later that Lieutenant Brinch's plane on which he served had gone straight back to Tromsø when they could not find the Shetland Islands. The plane was hardly in a condition to do the trip over again and had very little gasoline, so Kjos and the mechanic went ashore and came over to Finland. Lieutenant Brinch crossed over to Shetland the following day and joined the Norwegian Air Force in England.

The material conditions made it impossible for the Norwegian Air Force to defend the airfront of the country in any effective way. The general instruction given by the commanding admiral to the aviators of the Navy was to disturb the German operations and do a maximum of harm. This was done very effectively. And even if this story has no dramatic dogfights in the air, there are incidents which will long be told and remembered in Norway. Here is one of them:

While on patrol duty Lieutenant K. Kjos—a brother of Ensign Finn Kjos—flying over the fjords inside Kristiansund, with one mechanic on board, discovered lying along the beach a German seaplane of the Arado type. Kjos cut off his engine in order not to be heard and landed along the beach some distance from the Arado.

Leaving his plane in charge of the mechanic

he went ashore and learned that the crew of the Arado, two German officers, had gone into a small farmhouse near-by. Kjos went into the house and, single-handed, took both Germans prisoners. A few hours later a Norwegian torpedo boat that had been called to the place took over the prisoners and took the German plane in tow.

Kjos used this plane, which was much better than his own, for the rest of the warfare in Norway. When finally there was no more fighting on the west coast he flew it across the North Sea to Scotland.

The planes and munitions in Stavanger and Bergen were brought away under the eyes of the Germans, and the Air Force was very active in reconnoitering and bombing German ships and fortifications off western Norway. In the Sognefjord two German mine-layers were bombed; one went down and the other was attacked by a Norwegian patrol boat and thirty men taken prisoners.

Three planes were ordered to go to the Hardangerfjord where they had their base from April 9th to April 24th; then they joined the small force operating from Sogndal in the Sognefjord. On April 29th the whole group moved over to Olden in Nordfjord. The planes rendered



*German bombers saved by the Norwegians from sinking through the ice at Narvik. Shortly before the Germans were driven out of Narvik, Norwegian bombers attacked the German air base outside the town. The ice was destroyed and many of the planes sank, but some were taken over by the Norwegian air force.*



very good service: they helped a Norwegian torpedo boat to capture one of the big German transport ships off the Hardangerfjord, and they were active in bombing the Germans at Stavan-ger and other places.

When southern Norway was evacuated some of the machines went across to Scotland and the Shetlands, and some went to the North of Norway to join the 3rd Flying Squadron stationed at Tromsö. The small group stationed here was reinforced in various ways.

A report from the commanding officer, Lieutenant Jörgenesen, states:

The 3rd Flying Squadron did not lose any machines during the war. On the contrary our material was considerably increased. Between twenty-fourth of April and first of May two German Heinkels 115 were captured and brought to Tromsö. The planes had landed, one at Örne and one at Brönnöysund, owing to shortage of gasoline. The crews of the planes were taken prisoners by the civilian population after a good deal of shooting. The machines were in perfect order and had their complement of bombs, machine guns, and ammunition. Both planes were at once engaged fighting the Germans.

The Norwegians took a number of German planes by surprise on the ice of one of the lakes in the hinterland of Narvik. And the airmen

who had come north were very active in bombarding the Germans in the last phase of the war in northern Norway.

The planes serving with the Army on the ninth of April were distributed in the following way: At Fornebo were twelve Gladiator fighters and forty scouting planes. At Kjeller were nine scouting planes, at Sola (near Stavanger) nine, at Vaernes near Trondheim, nine, and at Bardufoss in the north of Norway, six.

The German attack in the early morning of the ninth of April came as a complete surprise. Fighting started around five o'clock in the morning, and the aviators at Fornebo and Kjeller put up a brave show. At least four German planes were brought down at Fornebo and four at Kjeller.

Owing to the lack of gasoline when the Germans had taken the oil-dumps the Norwegian planes had very little fighting value, but rendered great service as scouts and as couriers from one section of the army to another.

The Germans did not succeed in capturing the planes at Fornebo and at Kjeller, and all the planes at Vaernes were taken out before the Germans occupied the airport. All the small planes—hiding in the daytime on lakes and snowfields—did useful work scouting and carry-

ing messages to Garcia. Some of them succeeded in getting north and joining the troops in northern Norway. When Tromsø had to be evacuated on June 7th the planes which were strong enough for the long flight across the North Sea to the Shetlands headed for the islands. The smaller planes which were still in relatively good form were flown across to Petsamo and interned in Finland. The rest of the planes, with all the stores left, were burned so as not to fall into the hands of the Germans.

The men of the Air Force, insofar as they were not on the wing, went with the King and the Government across to England. And in the months of July and August proper steps were taken to reorganize the Norwegian Air Force. Machines were bought in the United States and in Canada, and hundreds of young Norwegians are training for the victorious flight back to their country.

## CHAPTER XII

### IN EXILE

IT WAS a great disappointment to the Germans that they did not succeed in taking the King and the Government prisoners, and as soon as King Haakon had left Norway they began their efforts to establish something that might be called a legal government in Norway, a government which might be recognized by Germany's allies in Italy, by her friends in Russia, and by the puppet government in Denmark. Sweden would no doubt follow suit under German pressure and then a strong influence would be exercised to prevail on Finland to do the same thing. That would mean, among other things, that the Norwegian Legations in Russia, in Sweden, and in Finland would disappear as representing the King and the legal government and would pass into the hands of the Germans. It would mean that Norwegian ships and Norwegian funds in those countries would come under German control. The German idea next would be to make the Pétain Government, the Madrid Government, and the Japanese

Government recognize the new government in Norway and then try to get the Latin-American states and finally the United States to do the same thing. This would mean that the control of the Norwegian merchant marine, more than 1,400 ships and 4,500,000 tons would pass from King Haakon and his government into the hands of the Germans; it would give them a chance to claim the gold of the Bank of Norway, now actually in America, and to declare traitors all those who are serving the King and the Government.

Now the constitution of Norway makes it impossible, as long as Norway is under occupation, to put on foot in the country any government with any title to legality.

Under ordinary circumstances most important steps taken by the Government should be approved by the Storting; but it was materially impossible for the Government to convoke Parliament. The Government had to leave Norway because only outside Norway could Norway survive, and continue the struggle for national independence on foreign soil—bearing alone the full burden of constitutional responsibility for this decision. It was the obvious and grave duty of the Government, and I as President of the Storting concurred in it and very warmly advocated

such a line of policy. But the President, of course, had no authority to act for the Storting.

On the other hand, the constitutional situation was very clear. The Storting can not sit in an occupied area, and no member living in an occupied area has the liberty of speech and action required by the Constitution. This sentiment was so strong that the very fathers of the Constitution, when the Storting met in extraordinary session in the late autumn of 1814, rejected the credentials of such members as were returned from districts under Swedish occupation. And Article 85 of the Constitution very clearly defines the legal and moral status of those who are accessories to the Storting's meeting under foreign domination. It lays down: "Whoso obeys an order or instruction the aim of which is to disturb the freedom and security of the Storting is thereby guilty of high treason to the fatherland."

For those same reasons no general elections can take place under occupation. Article 50 in the election law declares any election invalid if any voter is acting under pressure or undue influence. And Sections 105 and 106 of the criminal code lay down that any person trying to exercise such undue influence should suffer a penalty of up to three years' prison and that any voter who abstains from voting or promises to vote in a cer-

tain way under undue influence should be fined or sent to prison for not more than six months.

People in Norway know their laws; and when the German authorities in Oslo approached the political parties to discuss special elections—if Norway had not been occupied there should have been general elections in October—every political party declared that elections were out of the question.

Article 26 of the Constitution lays down: "The King has the right to call out troops, open war to defend the country, and conclude peace, make and sever alliances, send and receive envoys."

In other words, as long as Haakon is King of Norway, there is no legal possibility of any *de jure* arrangement with the German invaders.

So, quite logically, and in pursuance of the line they had taken the Germans tried to start a movement to force the King to abdicate. Their idea the whole time had been to try to get the King and the Crown-Prince out of the way. Then automatically the three-year-old Prince Harald would become king. Prince Harald was in Sweden. Moreover, the Norwegian Constitution lays down that if a minor prince has succeeded to the throne, the Storting should at once be convoked. And if this is not done by the Gov-

ernment, it is the "unconditional duty" of the Supreme Court to convoke the Storting four weeks after the death—or abdication—of the old king. The Storting would then have to appoint a regency, to decide on the education of the minor king—and probably to elect the government.

Ever since the King refused to appoint Major Quisling Prime Minister the Germans had been cajoling private persons in Oslo to support this idea in order to spare the country the destruction of war. They had not succeeded. After the evacuation of the north of Norway, the poor press of Norway, which was, of course, completely in the hands of the Germans, started printing identical leading articles handed out by the Germans.

The foreign oppressors, being unable to get the Storting convoked, tried to get an informal meeting of members who were summoned to Eidsvold. And there was nothing the Norwegians would resent more than Eidsvold being chosen—the place where the Constitutional Assembly met in 1814 and declared that "the Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and unalienable realm." What happened when those unfortunate individuals gathered at Eidsvold has never been known; but the few henchmen working for the Germans in Norway loudly claimed

that the King should be dethroned. On June 24th, Dr. Koht, the Foreign Minister, in a broadcast from London explained to the Norwegian people the position of the Government. Not three days later the Bureau of the Storting (that means the President and the Vice-President, and the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the two sections) addressed a letter to the King—or so the King was informed from Stockholm. This Bureau, or Parliamentary Committee, has never taken any political action and has no constitutional power. But now those present proposed to convoke the Storting, declared that the Nygaardsvold Government was out of function and that the King outside the border of Norway was not in a position to exercise his constitutional functions, and that therefore a board of regents should be appointed and given absolute power. Those members of the Storting who were outside the borders of the country should have lost their seats. (Besides myself, there are only two such members.)

For a good many years I have been Chairman of this Parliamentary Committee and probably know the members as well as anybody does. The Germans did not give the names of those members of the Committee from whom the letter to the King emanated. I have not seen their original

signature on any document, and until I do so I refuse to believe that they have lent their names to any such action. Of course, nobody knows what pressure may have been brought upon them, what kind of spiritual torture may have been applied; it is well known that the Germans threaten to punish the families of those who refuse to be their tools, and that many a man has broken down when he was told that his wife and his children would be tortured or shot if he did not do what he was ordered to do. But on the other hand it is not unheard-of for the Germans to abuse the names of people under their control and broadcast that they have signed documents of which they have not even heard.

At any rate the Norwegian Government accepted the challenge, and on July 8th King Haakon in a broadcast from London made the following statement:

I received the Parliamentary Committee's communication of the 27th of June, 1940, and fully appreciating my personal responsibility and the seriousness of the situation, I have carefully weighed the fatal decision which is the burden of the document, and which is so momentous to our country.

I came to Norway in 1905 at the request of the Norwegian people and in the years that followed I



*Eskimo dogs were of great use on the northern front.*



have to the best of my ability sought to fulfil the duties which I then assumed.

My new country became unspeakably dear to me and I felt myself drawn by personal bonds to the Norwegian people. My motto "All for Norway" has always been, and still is, the deciding factor in all my work, and if I were convinced that I would best serve the interest of my country in this hour by giving up my royal position, or if I were assured that a majority of the Norwegian nation stood behind the parliamentary committee in this matter, I would follow the suggestion which the Committee has put before me, however great would be my sorrow at leaving Norway. I notice from the Committee's communication that the suggestion which they propose to put before Parliament took shape after a meeting with the German Occupation authorities in Norway. It is thus not an expression of free Norwegian feeling but the result of force imposed by a foreign military occupation. It further transpires from the communication that the members of Parliament who escaped the tyrannical power by seeking refuge beyond Norway's borders shall be excluded from participating in the session at which the proposal I have mentioned is to be put into law.

The Parliament of 1814 stressed an entirely contrary principle by refusing to recognize the mandate of any member of the House who came from a district occupied by foreign military forces. It founded its point of view on the logical assumption that such

an occupation would restrict the members' freedom of action. Now those representatives, including the President of the Storting, who still retain freedom of action, are to be excluded from the house, while those who live under foreign dominance are to be alone responsible for deciding the fate of the country. I should be neglecting my constitutional duties in recognizing resolutions or acts passed by a Storting called together on such lines.

The third point of the Committee's memorandum declares that "as the King is outside the country he is not in a position to exercise his functions as laid down in the Constitution."

Paragraph 11 of Norway's Constitution emphatically states that the King may spend up to six months out of the country without the consent of Parliament and with the Parliament's consent he may prolong such a stay. If the King is abroad waging war, then, according to Section 41 of Norway's statutes, no special consent or permission of any kind is necessary.

At the meeting of the Storting at Elverum on the ninth of April, 1940, the President declared, with the unanimous consent of the House, that should the need arise, and in order to maintain a free and independent administration the King and the Government might take up residence abroad, without any specific time-limit being mentioned at the time. There is thus no constitutional foundation for the assertion that I am unable to perform the duties assigned to me by the Constitution.

The present Government, with Nygaardsvold as Prime Minister, was formed on the nineteenth of March, 1935; the composition of this Government has subsequently undergone certain changes, notably the inclusion in the Cabinet of members representing other political parties than that from which in the first instance the Government had been formed. In this way was created a national Government which has had the complete confidence of Parliament as the resolution passed at the meeting of April 9th this year so emphatically established.

In accordance with the practice of the Norwegian Constitution, Parliament has every right to rescind any given vote of confidence; but this must necessarily be done by a Parliament acting with full constitutional liberty, and one which has not been arbitrarily deprived of the services or presence of a number of its members. Neither of these conditions will be fulfilled at the meeting shortly to be summoned by the Committee.

In the conversation which took place between the Committee and the German occupation authorities it was stated that the Norwegian Government was itself in no position to fulfil its constitutional functions in view of the fact that it resided outside Norway. I and the Government have no greater desire than to be able to perform our duty within the country; it is only the brute force of an intruder which has compelled the Government to leave the country temporarily with me. We have done this in accordance with

the resolution adopted by Parliament in order to maintain a free and independent Norwegian organ of government, insofar as this is possible.

If a state of affairs could be created in Norway making it possible for myself and the Government to return to the country and to continue our work unhampered and untrammelled we should return immediately. The necessary condition for this would be the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The arrangements entered into by the German authorities and the Committee presupposes, however, that the German occupation will continue, and under these circumstances I can not envisage the possibility of a free Norwegian Government subsisting within the boundaries of the country.

As mention is made in the Committee's memorandum of the fact that new elections for the Storting can not be held until peace has been concluded it seems to be assumed that Norway will not enjoy peace until the war between the Great Powers has been brought to a conclusion. The committee is undoubtedly right in making this assumption, but it is likewise clear that the proposed arrangements will not help Norway to attain the peace she so earnestly desires.

The agreement concluded with the German authorities does not further the economic interests which are so vital for the welfare of the people. I refer to the fact that the German demands handed to the Norwegian Government on the night of April



*A scene of destruction in Trondheim.*



9th, when the country was attacked, were based among other things upon a complete economic isolation on the part of Norway in her relations to all countries to the west, both in Europe and beyond. And important economic interests would suffer more than they do to-day under a new government such as is envisaged by the nomination of a National Council of Government, since this Council would be unable to take over the vital interests abroad which the present Government now administers.

Further, I would like to turn to an aspect of the problems before us which has not been touched on in the Committee's memorandum, but which throws light on the agreement in question. I refer to the scope of jurisdiction which the suggested Council was to enjoy. I need not dwell more closely on something which is obvious to all, namely that the Council of Government would virtually have to submit to German orders as long as the German occupation of Norway continues, but I wish to emphasize the significance of the resolution passed by the German Government in Berlin and published during the last few days, to the effect that no foreign country may have diplomatic representatives in Oslo, and that Norway's foreign policy will be directed by the foreign office in Berlin.

In other words, the new body in Oslo is not to represent an independent nation, but merely a puppet state under German domination. Thus an abdication on my part would not even nominally be an advan-

tage to an independent national Government in Norway; the governing body would in no way assume all the constitutional functions which fall to a King.

I can see no constitutional justification for the Parliamentary Committee's action in rescinding the valid steps taken by Parliament so far. On the contrary, it is quite obvious that all the proposed arrangements are a violation of the Constitution.

I can not for a moment imagine that I would be acting in the interest of my country by giving way to the demands of the Committee, the acceptance of which would constitute a state of affairs in contravention of the Norwegian Constitution and one imposed by force upon the Norwegian people.

Nay, in so doing I would on the contrary forswear the principle which throughout my years of high office has run like a golden thread through my every action: namely to adhere faithfully to the precepts of the Constitution.

The freedom and independence of the Norwegian people are to me the first law of our Constitution, and I feel that I shall most faithfully obey this law and safeguard the interests of the Norwegian people by maintaining the position and the tasks which a free nation gave me in 1905.

There is no doubt that King Haakon's speech corresponded to the feelings of the whole nation. And public sentiment was running so strongly against the Germans, that they have not tried to

go further in this direction. On the other hand, they suppressed the answer given by the King. The newspapers in Norway were not allowed to print it. Persons who circulated copies of it were severely punished. Yet it was brought home. And popular reaction to the address of the Parliamentary Committee was well expressed in a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of Norwegian sailors in Shanghai, where they denounced those that had signed the letter (if it ever was signed) as national traitors.

Every day gives new evidence of evil deeds in Norway, of suppression of newspapers and books, of oppression and Gestapo cruelty and of executions.

Telegrams from Stockholm report the Germans demanding that Norway should pay 50,000,000 kroner a month for the kind "protection" of their country. And no act of national blackmail, no attempt at impoverishing Norway and making conditions of life as dreary as they are in Germany, could surprise any modern observer of German nature.

Under these conditions there was a strong desire in the hearts of most Norwegians to see the Crown-Princess and Prince Harald safely out of Sweden, where they were in constant danger of being brought under German influence or even

delivered into the hands of Hitler's agents. So when the President of the United States invited them to come to America that invitation was accepted with spontaneous gratitude.

Crown-Princess Märtha went by way of Finland, left Petsamo on August 16th, and arrived in New York on August 28th. The following day she left for Hyde Park with her children.

Even after her departure the Germans continued their attacks on King Haakon, and in a broadcast from London on August 27th he gave his answer:

According to the news I have received from Stockholm since last I spoke to the listeners at home, it appears that the correspondence between the Parliamentary Committee and myself concerning the question of my abdication has not been published in the Norwegian newspapers.

It seems that thereby some misunderstandings have been created at home concerning the whole political situation in Norway since the ninth of April.

The Parliament and the Government have been reproached with leaving Oslo on the morning of April 9th. But it must be remembered that the country was suddenly and unexpectedly in an extremely critical situation and that the serious decision had to be made, whether the country should surrender at once or whether we should defend ourselves. Parliament

and Government had to be given time and quiet for calm discussion of the situation and to make the decision undisturbed; and when the reports of the German advance during the night made it clear that this was impossible in Oslo, there was nothing left for the deciding authorities but to transfer all activities to a safer place.

On the arrival in Hamar on the same day, the Government handed in its resignation and the matter was at once put before the Storting. The Storting unanimously gave the Government a vote of confidence, asked them to carry on their duties, and advised that the Cabinet be strengthened by the appointment of a representative from each of the three parties until that time not represented in the Government.

The three parties nominated their representatives which were appointed members of the Cabinet. Of these three only one—Minister Sven Nielsen of the Conservative Party—accompanied the Government during the war in Norway.

The Storting on that same day decided, also unanimously, that the country should be defended by force as long as possible.

It seems that the Cabinet has also been criticized for not having been capable of doing everything that was necessary in the first days of the war and for not managing to exercise its full constitutional functions.

But it must be remembered that during these first weeks we were, so to speak, chased from one place

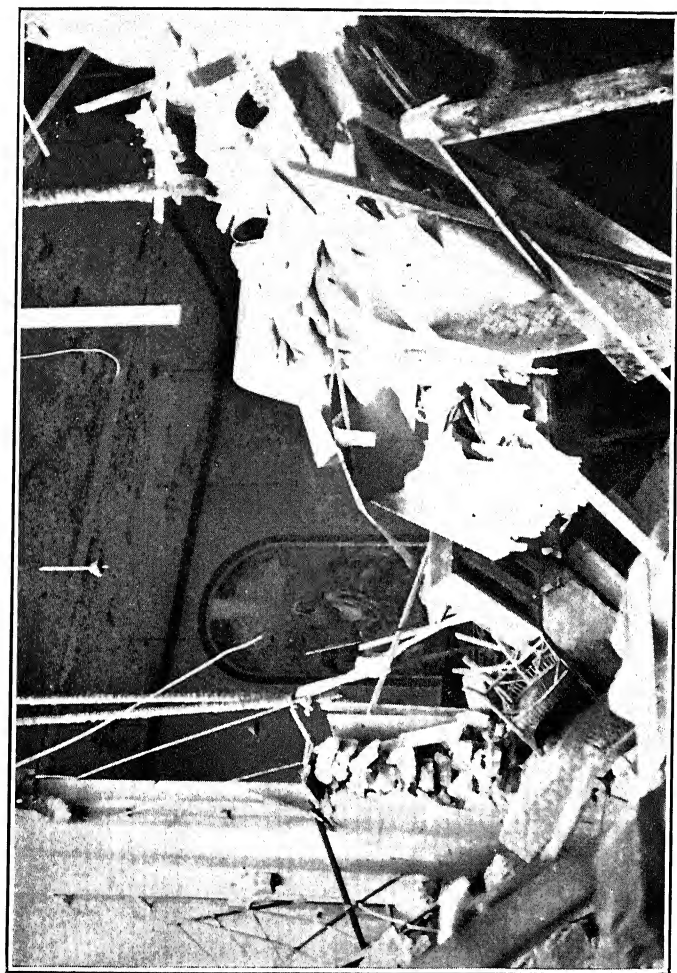
to another, that there were frequent air-raid alarms during our Cabinet meetings and that we were compelled to continue our discussions even though the bombers were right over our heads.

Not until we arrived in the north of Norway nearly one month after the outbreak of the war did we all get the comparative quiet necessary for our work.

During our stay in the north of Norway we discussed a reconstruction of the Government with a proportional representation of all parties in Parliament. But because we were isolated from the rest of Norway I did not consider any such reconstruction possible, since there was no way of reaching the occupied areas with requests to such persons as might come into consideration, and because it would be even more impossible for such persons to come to the north of Norway.

And after the Storting in its last session had given the Government a vote of confidence I deemed it imperative to keep the Government that had the confidence of the Storting so as to be strictly within the limits of the Parliamentary system—particularly after Major Quisling on the ninth of April had created a new Government without any kind of constitutional basis.

To me personally it was also of importance to be able to keep in the Government the men who had the confidence of the Storting and who during several years had coöperated so well with me.



*The picture of Christ remains intact.*



My point of view in this matter was agreed upon by the majority of the Government.

To put into effect the decision of the Storting that the Government should be supplemented by representatives of the three other parties in Parliament it was decided to appoint members of the Cabinet Attorney-at-law Arne Sunde of the Left party and Agricultural Counselor to our Legations in Europe, Farmer Anders Fjeldstad of the Farmers Party; they were both outside Norway at the time but have now joined the other members of Cabinet.

Certain circles have criticized the fact that I and my Government left Norway, and have maintained that it created difficulties for the country and for those who stayed behind.

In my opinion we did the right thing. If we had stayed in Norway those in power at the moment might have forced us to accept whatever they wanted. It was to avoid this that we left the country, and the action was in accordance with the decision taken by the Storting.

From the place where we now are we can continue to represent a free Norway.

A decisive factor in our action was the fact, which was clear to me and to the members of Cabinet, that the only possibility of making Norway independent again is victory to those who are fighting also for the right of the small nations to live their own lives.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my

conviction that the Administrative Council in Norway is no doubt doing a very good work and has rendered a great service to the fatherland by taking on the hard task—as it must be to every Norwegian—of acting as intermediaries between those now exercising power in Norway and the population.

I express my warm thanks to the members of the Administrative Council for the disinterested and self-sacrificing work they have undertaken, not least because they have succeeded in maintaining order and calm under conditions when any rash action might easily have led to catastrophic consequences not only for the individual but for the whole nation.

At the same time I send my thanks and my greetings to all Norwegian men and women, to those working and suffering in silence, and to all those who in public positions or in their professions must work under conditions which I well understand must mean an almost insupportable strain.

Keep clear of anything that is contrary to our national dignity; remain Norwegian in spirit and thinking, even if thoughts under the conditions of the moment can not be translated into speech or writing or action.

That this should be done is an absolutely necessary condition for safeguarding that strong national feeling which is the heritage of our nation and which in the last instance will make impossible every attempt to annihilate Norway as an independent realm.

God bless Norway, its land and its people!

There was another King of Norway who had to go into exile with his son, the Crown-Prince. That was 911 years ago. The king's name was Olav Haraldssön, and the Crown-Prince later became King Magnus the Good. King Olav went to Russia with a small body of followers, and he had no allies. He was offered the kingdom of Great Bulgaria (around the Volga with the capital Bolghar), which he refused, and it is stated in the Saga that he had it in mind to abdicate formally, especially after his enemies tried to raise the people against him. It is told in the Saga that he was most sorrowful and he asked God to be his judge; he turned things over in his mind and did not know what to choose; it came to him that any decision might be unfortunate.

It is related: "One night King Olav lay in his bed thinking over his plans, and his mind was filled with great sorrow. But when his spirit was very tired, sleep came to him, but a sleep so light that he seemed to be awake and see everything that happened in the house. He saw a man standing in front of his bed, tall and glorious and beautifully dressed. It came to the King that he might be Olav Trygvason \* who had come. The man addressed him: 'Is your mind sicklied over?

\* The Hero King of Norway, who started to make the Norwegians Christians, died in the battle at Svolder in the year 1000.

Don't you know what plan to follow? It seems strange that you are wavering to and fro and still more that you can imagine relinquishing your Kingship, given to you by God. . . . Don't let your inferiors scare you. It is the honor of a King to defeat his enemies, but an honorable death to fall fighting with your men. Are you in doubt whether the right is yours in this struggle? Never deny your true right. You will brave the dangers and find Norway, and God will bear you witness that it belongs to you.' "

When King Olav woke up he had made his decision. He came back to Norway. He became Saint Olaf, eternal King of Norway.

And his descendant, King Haakon VII, is occupying his throne to-day.

## APPENDIX

### *Text of memorandum delivered by the German Government to Dr. Koht, Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs*

The German Government will not inactively await the carrying out of such a plan [English and French invasion of Norway] and therefore to-day has opened definite military operations the result of which will be that strategically important points on Norwegian territory will be occupied. The Government of the Reich thus takes over the protection of the Kingdom of Norway during this war. It is firmly resolved from now on to defend the peace of the Northern Countries with its armed power against any Anglo-French attack and definitely to secure this peace. The Government of the Reich has not wished this development. The responsibility will fall on England and France alone. Both these states hypocritically declare that they want to defend the small states; but in reality they are violating these states, hoping thus to be able to carry on the war to destroy Germany, as day by day they more openly profess. Therefore, the German troops do not invade Norway in any inimical spirit. The German High Command has no intention of using the points occupied by the German

troops as a base for operations against England as long as it is not forced to do so by British and French activities, these military operations having for their sole purpose the securing of Norway against the planned occupation of points in Norway by English and French forces. The Government of the Reich feels convinced of serving the interests of Norway by this action; for this securing by the German armed power offers the Scandinavian peoples the only guarantee that their countries shall not become a battlefield in this war and a scene of action for, perhaps, the most terrifying aspects of war. The Government of the Reich, therefore, expects that the Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people will accept the German action in an understanding way and not offer any kind of resistance. Every act of resistance will be crushed with every means by the German forces which will be engaged, and will thus only lead to unnecessary bloodshed. The Norwegian Government, therefore, is requested to adopt with the greatest speed any measures which can ensure that the occupation by the German troops can proceed without friction or difficulties. In harmony with the old established friendly relations between the two countries the Government of the Reich assures the Norwegian Government that it is not the aim of Germany by the actions taken now or in the future to violate the territorial integrity and the political independence of the Kingdom of Norway.

*List of demands made upon the Norwegian Government by Germany at the beginning of the invasion of Norway*

1. The Norwegian Government should issue a proclamation to people and army to abstain from any resistance against the German troops when they take over the country.

2. They should order the Norwegian Army to establish a connection with the invading German troops and to take the necessary steps to establish a loyal collaboration with the German commanders. The Norwegian troops should be allowed to retain their arms insofar as their behavior permits this. In evidence of willingness to coöperate the white parliamentary flag should be hoisted beside the national flag on every military establishment as soon as the German troops drew near. Liaison detachments should be sent to (a) the Commander-in-Chief of the German troops occupying the capital, (officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force), and (b) to the local commanding officers. On the other hand the German Commander-in-Chief would send liaison officers to the Norwegian commanders. The task of the liaison detachments should be to ensure a friction-free coöperation and prevent any incidents between German and Norwegian troops.

3. Military establishments and works needed by the German troops to protect Norway against foreign enemies, especially the coast fortifications, should be handed over undemolished.

4. Accurate documentation concerning mines laid by the Norwegian Government should be placed at the Germans' disposal.

5. Complete blacking out of Norwegian territory as required by the air-defense should be carried out from the evening of the first day of occupation.

6. All lines of communication and means of information as well as the road system should continue to work undemolished and should be secured. The railroads, bus-lines, steamship-lines, from town to town and along the coast, and the centers of information should be placed at the disposal of the German troops of occupation to the extent necessitated by the tasks and provisioning of the German troops.

7. It should be forbidden for warships and merchant ships to leave for foreign ports, and no airplanes should be allowed to start. But it is not excluded that shipments to Germany and neutral Baltic ports might be allowed.

8. The pilots of Norway should be instructed to continue their service as required by German authorities, and lighthouses along the coast of Norway to follow any directions given by German authorities.

9. The system of weather forecasts should be continued and placed at the disposal of the German army of occupation; but public forecasts should be stopped.

10. All news service and postal service to foreign countries across the sea should be stopped. The news service and postal communication with Baltic states should be restricted to specified lines and be super-

vised at the demand of the commander of the army of occupation.

11. The press and the broadcasting should be ordered not to publish any military news without the consent of the German army commanders, and all broadcasting stations should be placed at the disposal of the German military commanders for announcements.

12. An embargo should be enforced for all exports from Norway which could be utilized for war purposes.

13. All the proclamations and orders which were issued in virtue of the points mentioned above should be reproduced only in cipher, in case of wireless transmission, after a code not known to the opponents of Germany. The Commander-in-Chief of the army of occupation should decide whether broadcasting *en clair* should be allowed.



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